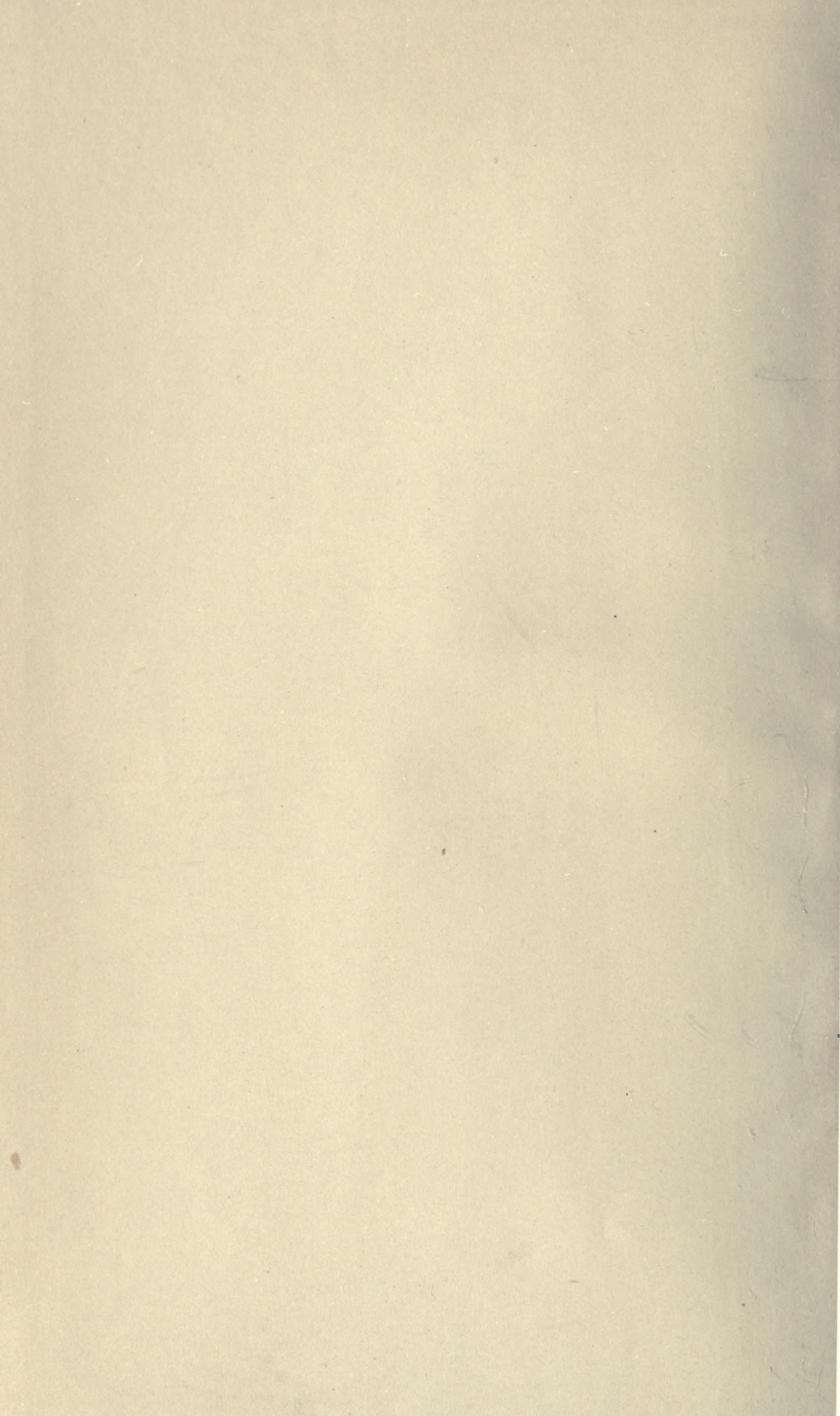


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HISTORY OF GLASGOW

VOLUME II

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GEORGE HUTCHESON,
NOTARY AND FOUNDER OF HUTCHESONS' HOSPITAL.

#6737

HISTORY OF GLASGOW

VOLUME II
FROM THE REFORMATION
TO THE REVOLUTION

BY
GEORGE EYRE-TODD
F.S.A. Scot.

EDITOR OF "THE BOOK OF GLASGOW CATHEDRAL"
AUTHOR OF "THE STORY OF GLASGOW," "FAMOUS SCOTTISH BURGHS"
"THE HIGHLAND CLANS OF SCOTLAND: THEIR HISTORY
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PREFACE

WITHIN the last ninety years most important additions have been made to the documentary evidence readily available for a complete History of Glasgow. In 1843 the Maitland Club published the entire extant *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* containing the charters of the bishopric from the twelfth century till the middle of the sixteenth. Three years later the same club published the *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine*, documents dealing with the affairs of the Church of St. Mary and St. Anne, now the Tron Church, and *Munimenta Fratrum Predicatorum de Glasgu*, the documents of the monastery of the Dominicans or Friars Preachers in High Street. In 1854 it published the muniments of the University, and in 1875 the Grampian Club, under the name of *Diocesan Registers*, published a series of Protocols of the Cathedral Chapter, of the years 1499 to 1513, and the Rental Book of the Archbishops from 1509 to 1570. These collections of documents furnished authentic and fairly complete material for a history of the bishopric and city of Glasgow down to the time of the Reformation. Twenty years later, in 1876, Sir James Marwick, then Town Clerk, began publishing the *Burgh Records*, or minutes of the Town Council, from the year 1573. Under the authority of the Council itself the publication was supplemented by a series of the protocols of the Town Clerks from 1530 till 1600. At the same time Sir James published, in three quarto volumes, *Charters and Documents*, the actual legal deeds upon which the material fortunes of the city had been built. The civic records which were thus

made readily accessible provide detailed data of unquestionable kind for a history of Glasgow from Reformation times downward.

On the rich store of facts contained in these publications Sir James Marwick set to work, and in several compilations—an elaborate introduction to *Charters and Documents*, *The River Clyde and the Clyde Burghs*, and *Early Glasgow*—threw parts of the information into narrative form. But Sir James died in 1908.

After that event the publication of the Burgh Records was continued by Mr. Robert Renwick, Town Clerk Depute and Keeper of the Register of Sasines, and completed down to the year 1833, when the provisions of the Reform Bill came into action, and the old Town Council of selected members gave place to a new popularly elected body. The publication of the records was finished in 1916. Shortly afterwards, in view of the highly interesting and valuable information embedded in these old minutes, Dr. Renwick (he had received the degree of LL.D. from Glasgow University in 1915) was invited by the Town Council to compile a comprehensive History of Glasgow. This invitation, though he was then seventy-five years of age, he was persuaded to accept, and forthwith set about the task. The work was planned to occupy four volumes—(1) from the earliest times till the Reformation, (2) from the Reformation till the Revolution; (3) from the Revolution till the passing of the Reform Bill; (4) from the passing of the Reform Bill till the present time.

Dr. Renwick had completed the first volume of the History, and passed it for the press, when he died, in 1920. The volume was published in that year under the direction of Sir John Lindsay, the Town Clerk. The present writer was then invited to continue the work. While warmly appreciating the compliment, he pointed out that the enterprise could only be undertaken in the intervals of a somewhat busy life. This fact must now be cited to crave the indulgence of the reader for the

interval which has elapsed between the publication of the first and second volumes.

The volume now published covers a period which has been less exploited than perhaps any other by writers who have dealt with the annals of Glasgow. It was the period during which the country passed through the greatest of its revolutions—the political and social upheaval which followed the Reformation. It was the time of the greatest of our civil wars—the struggle between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. Its mighty moving spirits were John Knox and Oliver Cromwell, the brilliant Marquess of Montrose and the astute Marquess of Argyll. Covenanter and Cavalier in turns held the reins of government, and in turns worked their will upon the opposing faction. In all these exciting movements the city of Glasgow played an outstanding part, and its annals throw a vivid and often new and highly suggestive light upon the history of Scotland of that time. Argyll's huge borrowings from the Glasgow magistrates, still unrepaid; the vital effects upon the fortunes of Montrose of his leniency to the city of which he was personally a near neighbour; the experiment of Charles I in "nationalising" the sea fisheries of the West of Scotland; and a score of other facts illuminated by these annals, all involved issues worthy of more consideration than they have yet received from historians.

In more purely domestic annals also the Glasgow records of the period present a highly interesting panorama. The change-over from ecclesiastical to industrial means of livelihood; the transfer of Church lands and revenues to the town; the rise of a medical profession; the development of a musical tradition; the wise settlement of differences between merchants and craftsmen—the "classes" and the "masses" of that time; the experiments in bureaucratic control of trade; the founding of one of the greatest charitable institutions of Scotland; the building of a civic sea-port on the Firth of Clyde;

the methods of meeting national emergencies, and of providing for the unemployed ; the occurrence of great city fires, which, like that of London in the same century, helped to wipe out an old order of things and usher in a new ; these are matters of much more than merely parochial interest.

The makers also of the civic annals of the period were a succession of men of whom enough has not hitherto been made. Every Glasgow citizen, of course, knows the story of the capture of Dunbarton Castle by Captain Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill ; but not everyone knows of the damning part played by Crawford in bearing evidence against Mary Queen of Scots. Everyone is acquainted also with that stout soldier of fortune, Dugald Dalgety, in Scott's *Legend of Montrose*, but few are aware of the intimate connection of his original, Sir James Turner, with the Glasgow garrison and the old mansion in the Gorbals. It is time also that more should be known about notable citizens like Colin Campbell of Blythwood, who entertained Cromwell on his visit to the city ; Thomas Pettigrew who commanded part of the Glasgow contingent of fighting men in James VI's raid against the Catholic earls of the north after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and who subsequently showed such business acumen in securing a lease of the town's revenue from burgess fees ; George Porterfield, who commanded the Glasgow forces in General Leslie's campaigns against Charles I, and who afterwards became Covenanting provost of the city, and from his exile in Holland sent home letters which implicated the Covenanters in plans for a Dutch invasion : and John Spreull, the die-hard town clerk, cousin of the Paisley " sufferer " known as Bass John, who united to strong Covenanting convictions a singular legal shrewdness and ability in holding fast to the emoluments of office against all comers.

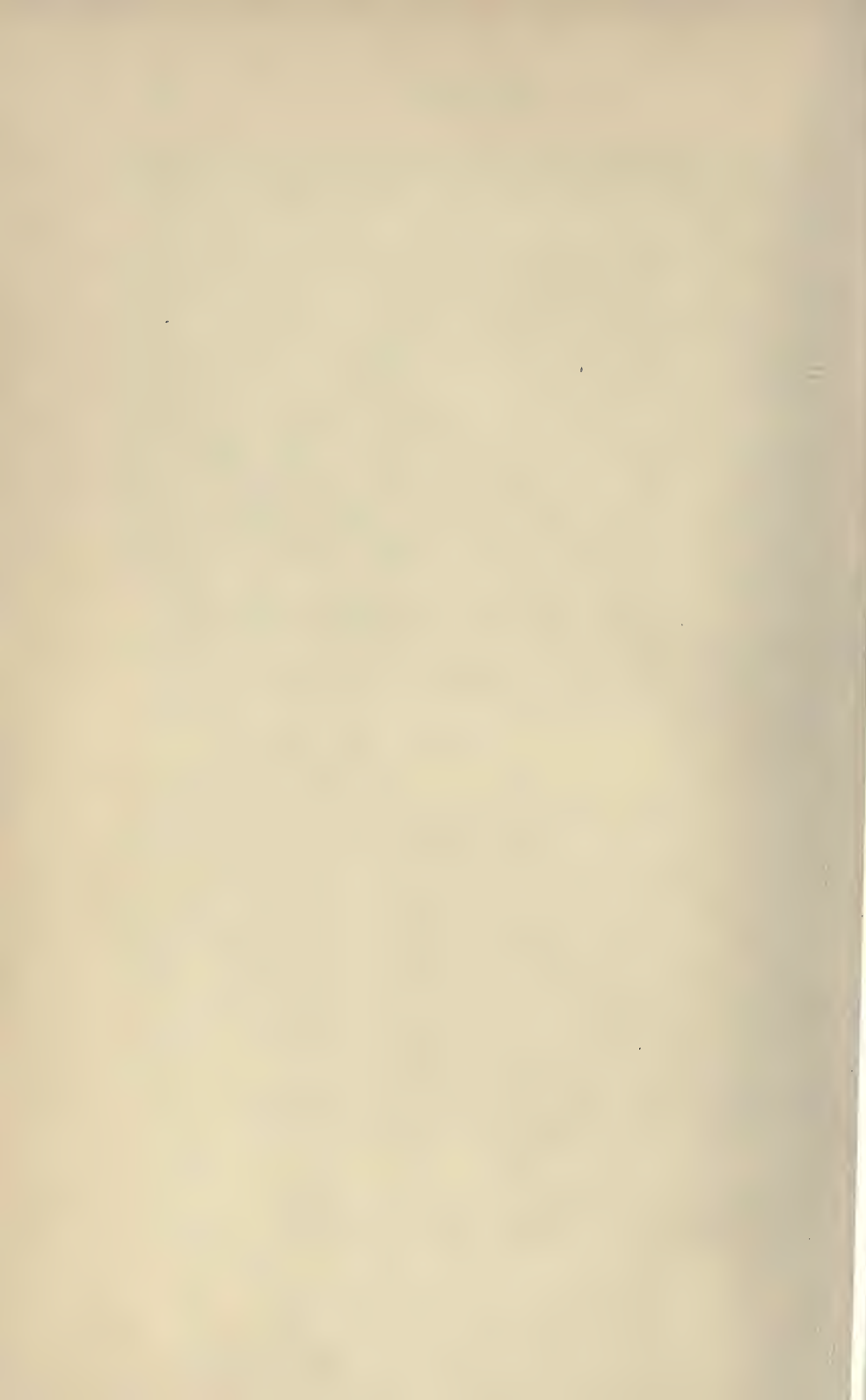
These and many other elements of much more than passing moment or merely local interest substantiate the claim of the

period of Glasgow history which forms the subject of the present volume to a greater measure of attention than it has yet received.

In the production of this volume a deep interest was taken by the late Sir John Lindsay, Town Clerk, and a similar interest has been manifested by his successor in office, Mr. David Stenhouse. To the indispensable support of both of these gentlemen, in making the civic records available for the work, and in making the necessary business arrangements, the most grateful acknowledgments must be made. Warm thanks are also due to Lady Mason and her brother, Mr. Alfred Mylne, for the loan of contemporary letters, which throw interesting light on noted characters of Glasgow in the seventeenth century.

GEORGE EYRE-TODD.

GLASGOW, *March* 1931.



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HISTORY OF GLASGOW

CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE REFORMATION

WHEN, on a winter day in 1559, the burgesses of Glasgow saw Archbishop Beaton ride away from the city with the French troops whom the Queen-Regent had lent him for the rescue of the charters and other valuables in his castle,¹ probably few of them realized that the event marked the greatest crisis and turning-point in the civic history. Much has been made of the fact that, with the departure of the Archbishop, the ancient burgh acquired a new measure of independence, that from that time, with some temporary interruptions from the Protestant archbishops of the following century, the town council would be free to elect its own bailies and transact other business without the interference of an ecclesiastical superior. But the yoke of the archbishops seems never to have pressed very heavily on the burgesses. As a matter of fact, under the rule of a long line of great churchmen, the city and other possessions of the bishopric had enjoyed almost complete immunity from the ravagings and burnings and calls to arms which were the common lot of the vassals of secular barons. It was only during the previous sixteen years, since the death of King James V., and the rise to power of the principles of the Reformation, that the burgesses had seen red war within their gates. At the same

¹ Keith's *Hist.* (Spottiswood Society), i. 245, 246.

time, they had enjoyed the very ample and substantial benefits arising from the residence in their midst of a great church dignitary with his court of wealthy prebendaries. The Archbishop's castle and the thirty-two manse of the canons, each with its considerable household of officers and domestics, must have afforded constant employment to a large number of craftsmen, and trade to a host of merchants. The ecclesiastical revenues of Glasgow at the Reformation have been moderately computed in the value of money in 1874, as follows :²

Archbishopric, rented in money	-	£1417	6	0
Deanery of Glasgow	-	349	0	0
Subdeanery -	-	63	5	8
Chantry -	-	293	6	8
Vicar Portioner	-	68	13	4
Monasteries	-	260	0	0
Collegiate Churches	-	250	0	0
<hr/>				
£2701 11 8 ³				

The expenditure of such a sum, or even a considerable part of it, among a population so small as that of Glasgow at the time of the Reformation was a very important matter. In 1581, when the Confession of Faith was carried from house to house by the elders, and it seems likely that the greater part of the adult population was induced to sign, the number of names adhibited was only 2250.⁴

² Walsh's *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, 329-331. See also Lawson's *Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*.

³ The free rent in money and victual of the Archbishopric of Glasgow, with its several baronies, as given at the general assumption of Thirds in 1561, will be found in the *Diocesan Registers*, i. 23. The amount received in cash was £987 8s. 7d., besides 32 chalders, 8 bolls meal, 28 chalders, 6 bolls malt, 8 bolls bear (barley), 12 chalders, 13 bolls, 3 firlots horse corn, and 14 dozen salmon. The temporal lands were "the baronies of Glasgow, Carstairs, Ancrum, Lilliesleaf, Eskirk, Stobo and Ediston, with the Bishop's Forest, and other little things in Carrick, Lothian, and elsewhere."

⁴ MacGeorge's *Old Glasgow*, p. 144; Stephens' *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, i. 300.

Hitherto the city had subsisted as a metropolis subsists, upon the custom brought to it by the presence of the great, and of suitors flocking to the court of the metropolitan. By the Reformation this means of living was at once very seriously diminished, and the inhabitants of Glasgow, especially those in the upper part of the city near the cathedral, immediately felt the pinch. It is true that by an order of the Lords of Council in 1562 the Roman clergy were allowed to retain two-thirds of the rents of their benefices for life—an order which greatly enraged John Knox ; but they were no longer called upon to reside in their cathedral manses. It is true also that the Earl of Lennox retained a town mansion at the Stablegreen Port, near the Bishop's Castle ;⁵ but since his forfeiture in 1545, after the Battle of the Butts, and his supersession by the Earl of Arran in the office of bailie of the barony and regality, he had had small occasion to reside there. By the abolition of the Pope's jurisdiction on 24th August, 1560, the consistorial courts of the old Church were closed, or only opened on very rare occasions. Two of these occasions may be noted.

In July, 1561, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, as Primate of All Scotland and Legate *a latere*, granted two commissions to the Abbots of Sweetheart and Crossraguel and two canons of Glasgow, to confirm charters by the Abbot of Glenluce to the Earl of Cassillis,⁶ and on 1st April, 1562, he commissioned the sub-chantor and other two canons of Glasgow to hear and determine the action of divorce raised by Hugh, Earl of Eglinton, against his reputed wife, Lady Jane Hamilton, daughter of the Duke of Chatelherault. This trial proceeded publicly and formally, and, on the ground that the parties were related within the fourth degree of consanguinity, sentence of divorce

⁵ *Diocesan Registers*, preface, p. 18 ; Marwick's *Early Glasgow*, p. 61 ; MacGeorge's *Old Glasgow*, p. 117.

⁶ Orig. at Culzean, quoted in *Consiliar Scotice*, clxxiv. note.

was pronounced in the High Church of Glasgow on 30th May, 1563.⁷

But the recourse of the public to Glasgow for such trials was now very rare indeed, and was likely soon to cease altogether. On 8th February, 1564, the Queen appointed four Commissaries, sitting at Edinburgh, to exercise the jurisdiction formerly exercised by the Officials and Commissaries of the archbishops and bishops in their consistory courts.⁸ Glasgow, in fact, ceased to be the spiritual and legal metropolis of the West of Scotland, and the consequences were for a considerable period calamitous.

Nearly a generation later, in 1587, a petition was presented to Parliament by the freemen and other inhabitants of Glasgow above the Greyfriars Wynd, setting forth that, whereas that part of the city had, before the Reformation, been "intertenyt and uphalden" by the resort of the Bishop and clergy, it had now become ruinous and decayed, and the residents greatly impoverished and without means to keep their property in repair. The petitioners suggested as a remedy that "the grite confusion and multitude of mercattis togedder in ane place about the croce" should be taken in hand, and some of these markets removed to the upper part of the city. As an argument they pointed out that they were equally subject with the people in the lower part of the town to be "taxt, stent, watcheing, warding, and all uther precable charges," and should therefore equally enjoy the benefits; and they concluded by pointing out that "that part of the said cietie abone the said gray frier wynde is the onlie ornament and decoratioun thereof, be ressonne of the grite and sumptuous buildingis of grite antiquitie, varie proper and meit for the ressait of his heines and nobilitie at sic tymes as thai sall repair thereto, and that it wer to be lamentit to sie sic gorgeous policie to decay."

⁷ Fraser's *Mem. of Montgomeries*, ii. 163-181.

⁸ Sir J. Balfour's *Practicks*, pp. 670-673; *Act. Parl.*, iii. 33, 41.

In response to this bitter cry, on 29th July, 1587, Robert, Lord Boyd, Walter, prior of Blantyre, the provost, bailies, and certain others, were commissioned to take action. First the salt market was removed to a place above the Wynd head; but this was so inconvenient to the fish curers that it was returned to its old position nearer the river, and the bear and malt market was established above the Wynd head in its stead.⁹

This petition indicates not only the straits to which the inhabitants of a large part of the city had been reduced, but also that the burgesses had at last realized the change which had taken place, and had become aware that they must no longer depend for their subsistence upon the patronage of the Church, but must rely upon their own exertions. This change was the greatest that has ever taken place in the history and character of Glasgow. The ancient feudal and ecclesiastical regime established by the far-seeing David, Prince of Strathclyde, in the twelfth century, had served its purpose and was dead. The city was now to enter upon a new era of greatness as a place of trade, manufacture, and foreign enterprise.

The old order did not pass away, however, without serious physical disturbance, and in the throes which accompanied the birth of a new era Glasgow experienced its full share.

⁹ *Glasgow Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. p. 213; p. 243, No. 82.

CHAPTER II

QUEEN MARY'S REIGN—THE BATTLE OF LANGSIDE

WHEN Queen Mary returned to Scotland, on 19th August, 1561, the Duke of Chatelherault was still in possession of the nineteen years' lease of the bailiership of the barony and regality of Glasgow, which, as Earl of Arran and Governor of the Kingdom, he had secured from Archbishop Dunbar in 1545, after overthrowing the forces of the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn at the Battle of the Butts on Glasgow muir. By way of confirming himself in possession, after the departure of Archbishop Beaton in December, 1559, and the final withdrawal of the French troops in March,¹ Chatelherault had seized the archbishop's Castle of Glasgow and also his manor of Lochwood, by the Bishop Loch, some six miles to the north-east of the city.² The head of the house of Hamilton was then on the side of the Reformers.³ The series of events by which he was to be restored to his natural position as one of the chief personages of the Catholic party

¹ *Supra*, vol. i. p. 409.

² Thomas Archibald, the Archbishop's chamberlain, writing to his master in Paris on 28th August, complained that "he could not get anything of the archbishop's revenues, neither could he get restitution of the castles of Glasgow and Lochwood, for which he had applied in vain to the Duke, to the Council, and to the parliament of reformers" (Keith's *Hist.* 488-9; Chalmers's *Caledonia*, iii. 639, note f.).

³ The letter which he wrote to the Duke of Norfolk on 21st March, describing the retreat of the French troops from Glasgow, was signed by himself, the Earls of Argyll and Glencairn, and Lord Boyd (Bain's *Calendar of State Papers*, i. p. 336, No. 694).

was destined to be among the most dramatic in the history of Scotland.

As grandson of the Princess Mary, daughter of James II., he was nearest heir to the throne, and his keen ambition was to marry his eldest son, the Earl of Arran, to the queen.⁴ This hope was destined to be bitterly disappointed. Arran went suddenly mad.⁵ Further, Chatelherault's old enemy, the Earl of Lennox, whom, for rebellion and embezzlement of French subsidies,⁶ he had overthrown and driven into exile in 1544, had married at the English court Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Angus and Queen Margaret Tudor, widow of James IV., and the eldest son of the marriage, Lord Darnley, was therefore next heir to the English throne after Queen Mary herself. While Mary was the daughter of Queen Margaret's son, Darnley was the son of Queen Margaret's daughter. At Queen Elizabeth's request Mary recalled Lennox to Scotland, and in September, 1564, he rode to Holyrood in much state and was received by the queen.⁷

Chatelherault's nineteen-year lease of the bailiary and justiciary of Glasgow was now at an end, and on 28th October, 1564, by an order in council, the queen, understanding that he then held "in tak and assidation the baillierie and justiciarie of Glasgow, quhilk of auld wes ane kyndlie possessioun to the said Erle of Levenax hous, as he allegis," ordered the duke to yield up these offices, "and all uther rycht, titill of rycht, entres or possessioun," so that the Archbishop might dispose of them at his pleasure.⁸ At the same time, she desired the duke and earl to compose their feud, and they promised to do so. Next, on 15th December, parliament rescinded the forfeiture of Lennox, who was restored to his titles and estates, and in due

⁴ MS. Letter Randolph to Cecil, 3rd Jan., 1560, State-paper Office; Tytler, iii. ch. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.* ch. vi.

⁶ Lesley, p. 175; Burton, iii. p. 220.

⁷ Keith, p. 255.

⁸ *Privy Council Register*, i. pp. 290-1.

course he returned to his office of bailie and justiciary of the Glasgow archbishopric.

Worse was to follow, however, so far as Chatelherault was concerned. Shortly afterwards the queen sent Sir Robert Melville to the English court to induce Lord Darnley to visit his father in Scotland. Melville found "yonder long lad" bearing the sword, as nearest prince of the blood, at the ceremony of conferring the earldom of Leicester on Lord Robert Dudley, whom Elizabeth was then proposing as a husband for the Scottish queen.⁹ By 12th February Darnley was in Scotland, introduced to Mary at Wemyss Castle, and danced a galliard with the queen. On 29th July that same year, 1565, the two were married. The queen was twenty-two and Henry Darnley, King of Scots, was nineteen years of age.

In these events Chatelherault foresaw the ruin of his house, and made a "band" of defence with the Earls of Moray and Glencairn, the former of whom saw power slipping from his hands, and moreover had been threatened by Darnley, now suffering from swollen head.¹⁰ Already on the eve of the queen's marriage, Moray had summoned his supporters to meet at Glasgow, and the queen had sent a herald thither to forbid the meeting as an illegal assembly.¹ Three days after the marriage Moray was commanded to appear at court, and, failing to do so, was proclaimed a rebel. Then Mary, with the energy of her race, aware that her treacherous half-brother was gathering her enemies against her, marched from the capital with a strong force, and drove the rebel lords from Stirling to Glasgow and from Glasgow to Argyll.² Next, returning to Edinburgh, the young king and queen on 22nd August summoned a muster of men of the shires of Renfrew and

⁹ Melville's *Memoirs*, Bannatyne edit. pp. 120, 122.

¹⁰ Keith, p. 274; Tytler, iii. ch. vi.

¹ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, 12 July, 1565.

² Keith, pp. 314, 316; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 82.



JAMES HAMILTON, EARL OF ARRAN AND DUKE OF CHATELHERAULT.



Dunbarton to meet them at Glasgow, "weil bodin in feir of weir," and with fifteen days' supplies,³ and on 29th August they themselves marched into the city at the head of five thousand men.⁴ Next day Chatelherault, Moray, and Glencairn, with a thousand men, appeared in Edinburgh; but not a man there joined them, and, hearing that Mary was marching against them, while a cannonade opened from the castle, they left the city and fled to Dumfries.

The queen was probably a good deal in the west country at this time, as the original seat of the Stewarts of Darnley, Earls of Lennox, was Crookston Castle, four miles west of Glasgow, and they had a "palace" or "place" at Inchinnan, and a mansion, as already mentioned, in Glasgow.⁵ So, probably, it came about that in the city on 5th September a bond was entered into by Lords Cassillis, Sempill, Ross, Somerville, and others, to give loyal obedience to their majesties and to the Earl of Lennox as their lieutenant.⁶

In the upshot, on 1st December Chatelherault was pardoned and retired to France, while the other rebels fled from the country. To enact their forfeiture a parliament was called to meet in February, 1566, and as the Catholic party was now in the ascendant in the country it seemed that their doom was certain.

Just then Mary was being pressed to join the league which had been formed among the powers of France, Spain, and the Emperor, for the destruction of the Protestant cause in Europe. It was known that the queen's secretary, David Rizzio, exerted with his mistress a powerful influence in favour of the league. If Rizzio continued to have the ear of the queen

³ *Privy Council Register*, i. p. 355.

⁴ Spottiswood, ii. 31.

⁵ See the admirable monograph on "Crookston Castle," by Robert Guy, *Glasgow*, 1909.

⁶ *Privy Council Register*, i. 355-363.

the ruin of Moray and his friends was certain.⁷ It was accordingly decided that Rizzio must be removed.

Darnley became the tool of the conspirators. By reason of his unfitness the queen had delayed the fulfilment of her promise to confer on him the "crown matrimonial"—an equal share with herself in the government—and he was induced to believe that she did this by Rizzio's advice. By hints worthy of Iago the Reformers even brought him to believe that the secretary had supplanted him in the queen's affection.⁸ A plot was therefore prepared and bonds were signed between Darnley, Moray, Morton, and others. The plan was to murder Rizzio, slay or imprison the queen, make Darnley the nominal king, and place all power in the hands of the Reformers.⁹

On the night of Saturday, 6th March, 1565-6, the tragedy took place. At Holyrood, in the queen's presence, Rizzio was murdered, Mary was seized and threatened with death, and Darnley, his dagger still sticking in the secretary's flesh, issued his letters as King, dissolving parliament.¹⁰ Next day Moray appeared in Edinburgh, and, at a meeting of the conspirators, arranged to imprison the queen in Stirling Castle, force her to resign the crown to Darnley, and confirm the protestant religion.

That night, by winning over her weak husband, Mary escaped to Dunbar, where an army of her loyal subjects soon gathered about her; but when the bonds signed by Darnley were placed before her, and she realized all his falsehood and

⁷ Douglas of Lochleven, one of the conspirators, afterwards wrote—"I causit offer to him, gif he wuld stay the Erle of Murray's forfaltour, he suld haif V thousand pundis Scottis; his answer was XX thousand and that wer all alik; it wald not be" (MS papers of the Laird of Lochleven, quoted in McCrie's *Life of Knox*, Period 9, footnote).

⁸ Keith, Appendix, p. 119.

⁹ See documents first printed by Tytler, iii.; *Proofs and Illustrations*, xv. and xvi.

¹⁰ Spottiswood, p. 195; Keith, p. 126.

treachery,¹ her feelings of revulsion and contempt rose beyond control.²

After the birth of her son in June, 1566, when she was labouring anxiously to heal the feuds among her nobles, Darnley's actions became more and more a danger to the state. Mary did everything that a woman and a wife could do to bring him to act reasonably and honourably,³ but the foolish young man would listen to nothing. When the queen herself lay in what was thought to be a mortal sickness at Jedburgh in October, he went only once to see her, and he did not attend the baptism of his son in December. By his constant intrigues and plots he made himself hated and feared by every party in the state, and with his father, Lennox, did everything he could to thwart the measures of the queen. Finally, when Mary, moved by reasons of state, pardoned the murderers of Rizzio, Darnley abruptly left the court, and went to live with his father at Glasgow. Here within a few days he fell sick of a disease which at first was given out as the result of poison, but which turned out to be smallpox.⁴

The town mansion of the Earl of Lennox, in which Darnley lay, stood close to the Bishop's Castle, on the west side of what is now Castle Street, on ground now partly covered by the Barony North Church. Originally the manse of Stobo, it had been purchased from Adam Colquhoun, rector of that prebend, in August, 1509, by Mathew Stewart, second Earl of Lennox, who became provost of Glasgow in the following year, and fell at Flodden in 1513. After his death his widow, Lady Elizabeth Hamilton, sister of the first Earl of Arran, and granddaughter of James II., lived there. Following the forfeiture of Darnley's

¹ MS. Letter State-paper Office, April 4, Randolph to Cecil, quoted by Tytler.

² Melville's *Memoirs*.

³ Keith, p. 347.

⁴ Letter from Drury to Cecil, 23 Jan., 1566-7, printed by Tytler in *Proofs and Illustrations*, to vol. iii. No. xvii.

father in 1545, the property had been bestowed on John Hamilton of Neilsland in 1550, and on John Stuart, Comendator of Coldingham, in 1556,⁵ With the rescinding of the forfeiture, however, in 1564, it appears to have been restored to the Earl.⁶

Here Darnley lay, attended by the queen's own physician whom she had sent him, and by Thomas Crawford, one of his gentlemen, who was destined to play a conspicuous part in the affairs which followed. In the deposition which formed one of the most important documents at the subsequent so-called trial of the queen, Crawford gave an account of what took place.

Already at Craigmillar a bond for Darnley's murder had been signed by Huntly, Argyll, Lethington, and Sir James Balfour, and was in Bothwell's hands.⁷ The sick man knew that the Earl of Morton, who had plotted for him the murder of Rizzio, and whom he had afterwards betrayed, had returned to Scotland; that Joseph, Rizzio's brother, was now the queen's secretary, and that Mary had spoken very severely of himself.⁸ When, therefore, he learned that the queen was on her way to visit him he was seized with misgiving. He sent Crawford to meet Mary with the excuse that he was still weak and did not presume to wait on her himself till assured of the removal of her displeasure. Replying that there was no medicine against fear, the queen came on to Glasgow. At the momentous interview, which took place in Darnley's bedchamber on 22nd January, 1567, the sick man expressed regret for his errors, protested his affection for her, and explained his fears regarding a plot against himself. Mary told him she had brought a litter with

⁵ *Diocesan Register*, i. pp. 18, 446.

⁶ Marwick's *Early Glasgow*, pp. 61-2.

⁷ Pitcairn's *Trials*, pp. 511-512: also other evidence cited by Tytler, iii. ch. vii.

⁸ Thomas Crawford's *Deposition*.

her, and as soon as he was thoroughly cleansed of his sickness she proposed to carry him to Craigmillar, where she intended to give him the bath. Meanwhile she asked him to keep secret what had passed between them, as it might give umbrage to some of the lords, to which Darnley answered that he could not see why they should dislike it.

On Mary leaving him, Darnley called in Thomas Crawford, and telling him all that had passed, bade him inform the Earl of Lennox, at that time also lying sick in his own chamber. He then asked Crawford what he thought of the queen's taking him to Craigmillar. Crawford answered, "She treats your majesty too like a prisoner. Why should you not be taken to one of your own houses in Edinburgh?" "It struck me much the same way," said Darnley; "and I have fears enough, but may God judge between us, I have her promise only to trust to. But I have put myself in her hands, and I shall go with her, though she should murder me."

Such was the account given by Crawford in his deposition submitted to the Commissioners at York on 9th December, 1568,⁹ which he said he had written immediately after the interview described; Tytler says he has discovered no reason to doubt its truth. It is, however, somewhat obviously the narrative of a partizan of the house of Lennox.

But Crawford's deposition is not the only document of momentous effect which purports to have been written in Glasgow at that time. Much debate has taken place over the question as to the house in which Queen Mary lodged during her ten days' visit to the city. Tradition in Townhead in the eighteenth century declared that the queen resided in the old manse which still stands at the corner of Macleod Street, on the west side of Cathedral Square.¹⁰ Built originally in 1471 as a house for the priest in charge of St. Nicholas Hospital

⁹ Anderson, iv. 168, 169; Tytler, iii. ch. vii.

¹⁰ *The Old Ludgings of Glasgow*, pp. 36, 37.

adjoining, and other clergy, it had, in 1565, along with the other property of the old canons of Balernock and Lairds of Provan, been granted by the queen to William Baillie, President of the College of Justice, whose family had long held these possessions as a prebend. It has been shown with fair probability that this house, with its fourteen large rooms, was the only dwelling at hand, not excepting the bishop's castle itself, at all large enough and in fit condition to receive the queen and her retinue at that time.¹ Only two small houses, the town manses of Renfrew and Govan, stood between the "Place of Stable Green," the Lennox mansion in which Darnley lay, and Sir William Baillie's house, and the queen had less than a hundred yards to pass from one to the other.² According to the charge brought against her at York, the second and most incriminating of the Casket Letters was written to the Earl of Bothwell by the queen from her Glasgow lodging immediately after her interview with Darnley. The similarity of the details of the interview recounted in Crawford's deposition, and Mary's alleged letter, forms the crux in the great controversy between the assailants and the defenders of the queen.³ Whatever their character of genuineness or good faith, these two documents, written or alleged to have been written in Glasgow, were vital factors two years later in deciding the queen's fate.

After a week spent with her sick husband in Archbishop Beaton's city, Mary carried him by easy stages to Edinburgh. On the way they were met by Bothwell, who escorted them, not to Craigmillar, but to the southern suburb of Kirk o' Field, where the Duke of Chatelherault had his town residence. There Darnley was lodged in a house belonging to Robert

¹ *Old Ludgings*, 37.

² *Provand's Lordship*, by William Gemmell, M.D.

³ See Froude and Henderson for the impeachment, and Hosack and Skelton for the defence of the queen.

Balfour, brother of that Sir James Balfour who had drawn up the bond for his murder.⁴

Events now hastened apace. Darnley reached Edinburgh on 31st January, 1567. He was strangled and the house was blown up at two o'clock in the morning of 10th February. Ten days later the Earl of Lennox accused Bothwell to the queen, but nothing was done for two months. When Bothwell's trial at last took place, on 12th April, his forces dominated the court, and he secured an acquittal. At the parliament which forthwith opened Mary chose him to bear the crown and sceptre before her, and proceeded to load him with further honours. On 19th April, when parliament rose, Bothwell entertained the principal nobles at supper in Ansley's tavern, and, having surrounded the house with his hagbutters, overawed the company into a declaration of their belief in his innocence, and into a recommendation that he was a suitable husband for the queen. Two days later Mary paid a visit to her son in Stirling, and as she returned on the 24th, was met at Almond Bridge by Bothwell with a force of eight hundred spearmen, and carried to the Earl's castle of Dunbar, with, it is said, her own consent.⁵ With indecent haste, in two days' time, Bothwell procured a divorce from his wife, Lady Jane Gordon, sister of the Earl of Huntly. On 12th May the queen created Bothwell Duke of Orkney and Shetland, and at four in the morning of the 15th, in the presence-chamber at Holyrood, Mary was married to her favourite. Next morning on the palace gate was found a paper bearing Ovid's well-known line embodying the popular superstition regarding marriages in May—

Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait.⁶

The prediction thus made was almost immediately to begin its terrible fulfilment. Already, a month before the marriage

⁴ Anderson, iv. 165.

⁵ Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 177.

⁶ Melville's *Memoirs*, pp. 176, 177.

a confederacy had been formed to defend the infant prince against his father's murderers. Outraged by the marriage, the nobles rapidly joined their strength to this association. Mary tried to summon her forces, but found her orders disregarded. Then, as she lay at Borthwick, the castle was suddenly surrounded in the night. Bothwell escaped through a postern, and the queen only managed to follow by riding dressed as a man, booted and spurred, to join him at Dunbar. There she contrived to gather two thousand men, and advanced to Carberry Hill. Here on Sunday, 15th June, 1567, exactly a month after her marriage, she saw her forces melt away, gave Bothwell her hand, saw him ride from her sight for the last time, and then yielded herself to the confederate lords. Next day she was carried to Lochleven Castle, where soon afterwards they compelled her to sign her abdication.

Meanwhile the Hamiltons, foreseeing a regency with probably their enemy the Earl of Lennox at its head, gathered Mary's friends at Dunbarton, and declared for the queen. On 8th August the Earl of Moray returned to Scotland, and on the 22nd was declared Regent. On the Sunday, when the herald arrived at Glasgow to proclaim the regency, he was forbidden by Lord Herries to do so, and ordered to depart out of that noble's rule.⁷

This highly dramatic series of events was to have its culmination at Glasgow. On 11th March, 1567-8, Moray came to the western city to hold a justice ayre for the shires of Dunbarton and Renfrew, and numerous acts of the Privy Council show him to have remained there till news reached him that on 2nd May the queen had escaped from Lochleven Castle. Her first night she had spent at Lord Seton's stronghold, Niddry Castle, and next day passed to Hamilton, where the loyal nobility crowded about her, and she soon found herself at the head of six thousand men. Declaring all the acts against herself

⁷ *Calendar of State Papers*, ii. 845.



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illegal, she yet desired to save the country from the miseries of civil war, and sent Moray her offer of forgiveness and reconciliation.⁸

Moray was counselled to retire from Glasgow, but saw in such an act only certain ruin. Gaining time by pretending to consider the offers of the queen, he sent out a proclamation declaring his support of the king's government, and summoning his party to reinforce him.⁹ Within a few days he had under his command an army of 4000 men, including some 600 of the citizens of Glasgow. Twenty-four years previously the burgesses had fought against the Hamiltons at the Battle of the Butts, and had suffered severely at their hands. The Earl of Lennox, also, was one of Moray's chief supporters, and the people of Glasgow were likely to follow their hereditary bailie, and to cherish no very affectionate regard for the queen since her marriage with Bothwell, the murderer of Lennox's son, Darnley.

Had there been a competent leader on Mary's side he would probably have marched at once on Glasgow, and prevented Moray's forces gathering to a head. Her supporters, like Seton and Herries and Lord Claude Hamilton, though brave and devoted to her cause, were not experienced soldiers. Moray, on the contrary, while himself an expert leader, had the immense advantage of the services of one of the best generals of the time in Europe, Kirkcaldy of Grange. A detailed account of the battle which now took place is given in Melville's *Memoirs* and in the recent admirable monograph on the subject by Mr. A. M. Scott.

On 13th May both parties were ready to move. The intention of the queen's lords was to place Mary in the strong fortress of Dunbarton, then kept by her adherent, Lord Fleming. Expecting that her forces would attempt to cross the river by

⁸ Keith, 474, 475; Melville's *Memoirs*, 200.

⁹ *Privy Council Registers*, i. 622.

the fords at Dalmarnock or Cambuslang, Moray drew out his army on the Burghmuir, to the east of the city. On being informed however, that she was marching across country further to the south, he hastily withdrew from that position. Mounting a hagbutter behind each of his horsemen, he crossed the river by the bridge and fords at the foot of the Stockwell, and pushed out to the village of Langside. His right wing was posted where the battle monument now stands, at the head of the narrow lane which ran between high banks and hedges up to the village of Langside. His centre, with the few cannon sent by the Earl of Mar from Stirling, held the slope above the present road, where the farmhouse of Path-head still stands; and his left wing was massed on the hillside beyond the farm.

The queen's army, coming up from the direction of Rutherglen, deployed along the side of the Clinkart Hill, where the Deaf and Dumb Institution now stands. As it came into position, the artillery on both sides—the queen had ten brass cannon—exchanged a few shots across the level ground between. Then the mounted men on both sides rode forward, and, in the skirmish, Lord Herries inflicted a swordcut on the shoulder of Lord Ochiltree, which put him out of action and endangered his life.

While these preliminaries were going on, the Hamiltons, who led the queen's vanguard, with two thousand men, pushed on to force the passage of the village. As the spearmen met at the head of the narrow lane they fixed their weapons in their opponents' armour, and so closely were they jammed that when they fired their pistols and threw them in each other's faces these weapons rested on the spears, without falling to the ground.¹⁰ The issue was decided by Grange bringing reinforcements from the main body, and lining the hedges above the sides of the lane with the hagbutter. These fired

¹⁰ Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 201.

point-blank down upon the queen's men, and did much damage, till at last the Hamiltons were forced to give way.

The situation might have been saved by the queen's general, her brother-in-law, Argyll, ordering a general advance, or sending cavalry to attack Moray's hagbutters and right wing in the flank, but, according to the contemporary account, "The Earl of Argyll, even as they were joining, as it is reported, for fault of courage and spirit, swooned."¹

As the Hamiltons fell back, Moray advanced with his main body, and the queen's forces gave way and began to flee. At this point the chief of the Macfarlanes, who, not twenty days before, had, for some misdeed, been condemned to death by Moray himself at the justice ayre, but had been pardoned at the intercession of the Countess of Moray, and had brought two hundred of his clansmen to the battle, fell upon the retiring troops and "executed great slaughter."²

The spot "within half a mile distant" from which Mary herself viewed the conflict has by immemorial tradition been identified as the Court Knowe, marked by a stone on the hill-side near Cathcart Castle. With her were Lord Boyd, Lord Fleming, Lord Herries' son, and thirty others. When she saw the battle lost she turned her horse's head and rode away to the south, to Dundrennan Abbey, sixty miles distant. Three days later, on 16th May, against the advice of her counsellors, she crossed to the English coast, and threw herself upon the hospitality of Elizabeth, by whom she was kept a prisoner till her execution on 8th February, 1587.

The Battle of Langside lasted only three quarters of an hour. On Moray's side, though several, including the Earl of Home, were sore hurt, not a man of note was slain. Of the queen's forces, on the other hand, some six or seven score were

¹ Advertisement of the Conflict in Scotland, MS. in State-paper Office, printed by Tytler, iii.; *Proofs and Illustrations*, No. xxii.

² *Ibid.*

slain on the field, and, according to tradition, were buried in the Dead Men's Lea, the ground to the east of the present Queen's Park Gate.³ Three hundred were taken prisoners, including Lord Seton, Lord Ross, Sir James Hamilton, the Master of Montgomerie, the Master of Cassillis, and other notables. The captives, who were mostly of the name of Hamilton, were confined in the Bishop's Castle. The Earl of Eglinton escaped by covering himself with straw in a house till night, when he got away.⁴

After the battle the regent returned to the city, where he attended a solemn thanksgiving service in the cathedral and was entertained by the town council.

The Battle of Langside, thus fought within a few miles of Glasgow, must be regarded as a decisive factor in confirming the Reformation in Scotland. The smallness of the numbers engaged in it does not detract from its importance. The numbers were still smaller at the Battle of Largs, three centuries earlier, which ended the Norse ascendancy of five hundred years over the western isles and the north. John Knox, who had hidden himself in the recesses of Kyle and elsewhere after the murder of Rizzio, for his complicity in that event,⁵ had returned after Mary's imprisonment at Lochleven. Had the queen been victorious at Langside he would have been forced into hiding again. As it was, he remained free, till his death two years later, to exert, along with the Regent Moray, the strongest influence in the state.

³ Scott's *Battle of Langside*.

⁴ Advertisement of the Conflict.

⁵ Tytler, iii. ; *Proofs and Illustrations*, xvi.

CHAPTER III

THE TRANSFERENCE OF CHURCH PROPERTY UNDER MARY AND MORAY

A VERY important change directly brought about by the Reformation in Glasgow was the transference to private ownership of the vast estates which had formerly belonged to the Archbishopric. It is a common idea that these lands and properties were simply seized by rapacious individuals, who transferred them to their own use without other right or equivalent than physical force or King's favour. This idea probably originated in the declamations of John Knox, who had hoped to see the greater part of the property of the Church of Rome transferred to the use of the preachers of the Reformed faith.¹ This had been done in England under the strong hand of Henry VIII., and it was not unnatural to suppose that events might follow a similar course in the northern kingdom. Matters, however, did not fall out so favourably, and for this the methods and temper of Knox were themselves largely responsible. What he succeeded in doing was not so much to reform the Church as to abolish it, and it was a bitter discovery for him to make afterwards that the little party of Protestant preachers which he distributed over the country² was regarded as only one of the many claimants to the reversion of the Church's property.

¹ Knox's *History of the Reformation*, p. 276.

² " Previous to September, 1559, eight towns were provided with pastors ; and other places remained unprovided, owing to the scarcity of preachers " (Letter, Knox to Locke, Cald. MS. i. 472, quoted in McCrie's *Life of Knox*).

On 22nd December, 1561, the Privy Council ordered a return to be made of the revenues of all the bishoprics and religious houses in the kingdom. On the basis of this return a third part of the rents of all ecclesiastical benefices was appropriated to the use of the queen's household, and of that sum, the Knoxian ministers were to receive half.³ The remaining two-thirds of the benefices were appointed to remain with the Roman clergy. Regarding this order Knox fulminated from the pulpit in characteristic style. "The Spirit of God," he declared, "was not the author of that order, by which two parts of the church rents were given to the devil, and the other third part was to be divided between God and the devil. Oh, *happy* servants of the devil, and *miserable* servants of Jesus Christ, if after this life there were not hell and heaven!"

From the date of the Church's overthrow, however, and at an ever-increasing rate as the old clergy died out, the lands of the Churchmen and religious houses were destined to pass to other ownership. On 15th February, 1561-2, the Privy Council ordered that all the revenues of chaplainries and friars in towns and burghs, as well as the rents of friars' lands elsewhere, should be dealt with by such persons as the queen might appoint, and used in support of hospitals and schools and for such other purposes as the queen, with advice of her council, might direct. At the same time, to this end, the magistrates of Glasgow and other burghs were directed to maintain and use for the common good such religious houses belonging to the friars as had not been demolished, till the issue of further orders from the crown.⁴

The first of these further instructions, so far as Glasgow was concerned, was issued in a letter under the queen's privy seal on 13th July, 1563, which is still preserved in the archives of the University. For the royal intervention on this occasion

³ *Privy Council Reg.* i. 412.

⁴ *Privy Council Register*, i. 201-203.

it has been suggested that the University owed something to the famous Latinist, George Buchanan.⁵ In this letter the schools and chambers of the pedagogy, or college of Glasgow, are described as only partly built, while the provision for its poor bursars and teachers had ceased, so that what remained appeared rather the decay of a university than an established institution. The queen, therefore, founded within the college and university bursaries for five poor "bairns," to be called "bursaries of oure foundatione." At the same time, for furnishing the bursars with meat, clothing, and other sustenance she granted the manse and kirk room of the Friars Preachers within the city, along with thirteen acres of land outside, ten marks of rent formerly drawn by the friars from tenements within the city, ten marks rental from the Netherton of Hamilton, ten bolls meal from certain lands in Lennox, and ten marks from the lordship of Avondale. The master of the college and University was authorized to uplift and apply these revenues and properties till the queen should take further order in the matter "at the quhilk tyme we mynd to dote the landis and annuellis forsaidis thairto, and als to mak the said college to be provydit of sic sessionable levyng that thairin the liberale sciences may be plainlie techit as the samyn ar in utheris colleges of this realme, sua that the college forsaid sal be reputit oure foundatioun in all tyme cumyng." ⁶

Thus, by the goodwill of Mary Queen of Scots, the monastery of the Black Friars, on the east side of High Street, passed, with other property, into the possession of the University.

This letter of the queen was followed, a month later, by an act of the bailies of Glasgow, ordaining certain burgesses to pay to the Principal Regent of the Pedagogy of Glasgow 28 bolls of malt for the yearly rent of 13 acres and 3 roods of land

⁵ George Buchanan, *Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies*, 1906, pp. 33-39.

⁶ *Glasgow Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. pp. 129-131, No. 58; *Mun. Univ. Glasg.* i. p. 67; *Privy Seal Reg.* xxxi. 138.

“ belonging in times past to the Friars Preachers, and conveyed to the College by the grant of Queen Mary.” ⁷

Among the “ various tenements within the city ” referred to in the queen’s letter, one had been the subject of an interesting transaction nearly two years previously, a transaction which shows the straits to which the Friars Preachers in Glasgow, in common with the occupants of many other religious houses throughout the kingdom, had been almost at once reduced by the upheaval of the Reformation. A charter granted by Andrew Lecke, prior, and John Law, superior of the Friars Preachers in Glasgow, describes the dispersion of the order and the aid rendered to the friars in their extreme necessity by John Graham, son of James Graham, burgess of Glasgow, without which aid they could not have sustained life. In consideration of this the prior and superior grant to John Graham and his wife “ the great tenement occupied by the said John, with the gardens belonging thereto (the cemetery thereof excepted) to be held by these and other heirs of the said friars in conjunct infeftment for payment annually of four merks, subject to the provision that if the friars were replaced and their order restored, they should be repossessed of the gardens, but that the tenement should be retained by the said John for payment of three merks annually.” ⁸ This charter was confirmed by Queen Mary under the Great Seal in 1567.⁹

The further orders of the queen with regard to the possessions of the friars and minor clergy of the Church in Glasgow were contained in a charter under the Great Seal dated 16th March, 1566-7. Under the preamble that it was incumbent on the queen to provide for the ministers, hospitals, the poor and orphans, the charter conveyed to the provost, bailies,

⁷ *Mun. Univ. Glasg.* i. p. 69; *Charters and Documents*, i. p. 20, No. 331.

⁸ *Great Seal Register*, 1546-1580, p. 449; *Charters and Documents*, i. p. 19, No. 328.

⁹ *Ibid.* No. 1790.

council, and community of Glasgow the whole possessions, real and movable, within the city, belonging to any chaplainries, altars, and prebends there or elsewhere, as well as the manor-places, orchards, lands, annual-rents, emoluments, and duties which formerly belonged to the Dominican or Preaching Friars and to the Minorites or Franciscans of the city. The charter next proceeded to state that many of the prebendaries, chaplains, and friars had, since the Reformation, given away their endowments, and that many persons had, by briefs from chancery, reclaimed properties given by their ancestors to the Church. All such alienations, by which the first purpose of the founders was infringed, were now rescinded, and the properties handed over to the city. The whole possessions thus transferred were incorporated into one body, to be known as "the Queen's Foundation of the Ministry and Hospitality of Glasgow" and the proceeds devoted to the support of the Reformed church in the city and to hospitality and other similar purposes. No injury was to be done to the chaplains, prebendaries, and friars who were in possession at the change of religion. These men were to enjoy their endowments during their lives. But in effect the charter conveyed to the magistrates and community of Glasgow the whole possessions within the city of the friars and minor clergy of the Roman Church.

The possessions of the Archbishopric were the subject of other and different dispositions.

Though the head of the house of Hamilton had, as we have seen, superseded the Earl of Lennox as bailie of the barony and regality in 1545, and had seized the Bishop's Castle on the flight of Archbishop Beaton in 1559; he does not appear to have permanently alienated any of the real estate in his jurisdiction.

Further, on 19th September, 1560, by a decree of the Court of Session, the see of Glasgow had been declared vacant, but that decree evidently did not affect the temporalities of the

archbishopric. The rental book of the diocese, printed in *Diocesan Registers*, shows that the archbishop's steward continued to enter tenants and transact business till 15th October, 1570. The complaint of Beaton's steward, already quoted, must have referred only to a temporary seizure of the property by Chatelherault, or to seizure of the revenues. In 1564, at the end of his lease, and upon the order of the Privy Council, Chatelherault yielded up his bailiership,¹⁰ apparently without any dilapidations having taken place.

These dilapidations only began after the defeat of Mary at the Battle of Langside. By M'Ure and by most of the later annalists of Glasgow, as well as by Mr. James Ness in his *History of the Incorporation of Bakers*, it has been stated that at the banquet to which he was entertained on returning from the battle, Moray took occasion to thank the bakers of the city for the material help they had afforded by supplying his forces with bread, whereupon Matthew Fawside, deacon of the Bakers' Incorporation, took the opportunity to suggest that a permanent token of his gratitude might be afforded by a grant of a piece of the bishop's lands on the Kelvin, with the right to erect a mill. It has been argued¹ that in 1568 the Regent was not in a position to make this grant, as Archbishop Beaton was still legal owner of the land. Sir James Marwick suggested that what the Regent did was to promise the site when the land should become crown property, as it would on the archbishop's death or forfeiture. In any case, as is pointed out by Marwick, there is evidence that the bakers did at that time build themselves a mill on the Kelvin. This evidence is contained in a decretet before the bailie of the regality on 16th November, 1569, at the instance of Archibald Lyon, tenant of the mill in Newton on Kelvin, against the Baxters of Glasgow, finding

¹⁰ *Privy Council Register*, i. 290.

¹ Correspondence by Mr. Joseph Bain, Dr. David Murray, and Mr. James Ness in the *Glasgow Herald* in May, June, and July, 1893.

them in the wrong in "bigging up of ane dam to thair mylne *newlie biggit be thaim* upone the wattir of Kelvyne, beneth the said Archibalds milne," the result being that Lyon's mill was left in back water, without the current necessary to supply power.² Apart from the assignment of the thirds of all benefices already referred to,³ this grant of land and mill-building rights to the Glasgow Incorporation of Bakers appears to have been the first alienation of the real estate belonging to the archbishopric.

Another of the archbishop's possessions which the Regent made no scruple to touch was the Castle of Glasgow itself. In May, 1568, he committed the keeping of the stronghold to Sir John Stewart of Minto, and for the purpose assigned him five chalders of malt, five chalders of meal, two chalders of horse-corn, and two hundred merks (£11 2s. 2d. sterling) out of the revenues of the bishopric. Sir John and his servants were at the same time expressly relieved from any responsibility for these intromissions, though "James sometime archbishop" was not yet denounced rebel and put to the horn.⁴

But the Regent Moray's example was soon followed by local dilapidators. Under the kindly rule of the archbishops the inhabitants of Glasgow had been allowed to use as common pasture and for casting peats certain lands, such as the Easter and Wester Commons, the Burgh Muir, and Garngad Hill. About the year 1568 the magistrates appear to have taken possession of these lands, and proceeded to dispose of them in plots to individual inhabitants. On 6th April, 1569, William Walker, the archbishop's agent, wrote to his master in France,

² *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. i. p. 1, and p. 24, No. 348. On 10th August, 1554, Archbishop Beaton admitted Archibald Lyon as rentaller of his waulk mill on the Kelvin, with power to change the waulk mill into a wheat mill, Lyon being bound to grind all the wheat which the bishop consumed in his house and pay four merks yearly (*Charters and Documents*, i. pt. i. No. 324).

³ *Antea*, p. 22.

⁴ *Privy Council Register*, xi. p. 302.

that he had been "in great troublis" which had changed the colour of his hair from black to white. The magistrates, it appears, had demanded that he should become a burgess; this he had refused to do, and in consequence he found it impossible to procure justice from the provost and bailies. In particular, he tells how "al the borrow muir of Glasgow on the Southe syde of the towne, and als Garngad hill on the north part of the toune, ar distribuit be provost, baillies, and communitie of the towne to the inhabitaries thair of, every ane his awin portioun conforme to his degrie, and hes revin it oute, and manuris it this zeir instantlie, but I walde have na parte thair of quhill (until) it plies God and zoure Lordship to make my parte, be ressoun I knewe thai hade na power to deill zour Lordship's lands withoute sum consent of zoure Lordship or sum utheris in zoure Lordship's name." ⁵

The act by which further dilapidations of the archbishopric were to be legalized was not long delayed. On 16th August, 1569, the Privy Council ordained that, as the archbishop had failed to appear and answer such charges as might be brought against him, he should be denounced as a rebel and put to the horn, and that all his movable goods should be escheate and brought to the king's use. ⁶

Moray himself seems to have gone no further, however, in alienating the real estate of the bishopric. On 23rd January, 1569-70, he was shot in Linlithgow by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. Six months later, on 12th July, the Earl of Lennox, grandfather of the infant James VI., was appointed regent, and he forthwith became engrossed in active measures to strike a decisive blow at the cause of his daughter-in-law, Queen Mary.

⁵ MacGeorge's *Old Glasgow*, p. 165.

⁶ *Privy Council Register*, i. p. 638.

CHAPTER IV

THE REGENT LENNOX—CAPTURE OF DUNBARTON CASTLE

MATTHEW, Earl of Lennox, the hereditary Bailie of the Glasgow archbishopric, appears on the historic page as one of the least heroic characters among the venal Scottish nobility of his time. At the Battle of the Butts in 1544 he left his charge at Glasgow to be defended against the Earl of Arran by his ally Glencairn, and, following the defeat, fled to England, where he received a bride at the hands of Henry VIII., in the person of that monarch's niece, Lady Margaret Douglas. Immediately afterwards he led the English squadron of ten ships in its attack on the shores of Clyde, where he plundered Arran, Ayrshire, and Kintyre, and captured Bute, but was refused possession of his own fortress of Dunbarton by his own vassal, Stirling of Glorat.¹ For twenty years after that he had remained an exile in England. Recalled by Queen Mary, he had seen his son raised to royal state, only to throw every opportunity away by his miserable folly. After Darnley's murder, and his own failure to bring the murderers to justice, he had again fled to England, and it was as Queen Elizabeth's envoy, and at the head of an English army, that he again returned to Scotland, to avenge the death of the Regent Moray upon the House of Hamilton.

One English army under the Earl of Sussex had just devastated Teviotdale and the Merse, while another under Lord Scrope had burned Nithsdale and the western border.

¹ Tytler, vol. iii. ch. i.

The business of Lennox was to vent the English queen's vengeance and spleen by carrying fire and sword still farther into the country of her rival, Mary. Writing, as he went, letter after letter of abject submission to Elizabeth's minister, Cecil, and even stooping to beg the queen to pity his poverty and send him more money,² he had first marched upon Glasgow, where the Hamiltons were besieging the Bishop's Castle. The garrison consisted of only twenty-four raw soldiers, unprovided with the necessaries of defence, but Lennox, with his English force of twelve hundred foot and four hundred horse, arrived in time to save the place, and the Hamiltons withdrew. Lennox then proceeded to devastate the country of his old enemies in Clydesdale and Linlithgowshire, capturing Cadzow Castle, burning the palace at Hamilton, and bringing the whole house of Hamilton to the verge of ruin.³ Following these achievements Lennox was appointed Regent on receipt of letters of recommendation from the English queen.⁴

As Regent, Lennox showed some energy, capturing Huntly's small garrison at Brechin, and another placed by the Hamiltons in the town of Paisley.⁵ While at Ayr, shortly afterwards, receiving the submission of the Earl of Cassillis, he was severely hurt by a fall from his horse, and it was on returning to Glasgow, to recover from the injury and an attack of gout, that he had the means of accomplishing his most cherished purpose placed in his hands.⁶

Dunbarton Castle, the chief stronghold in the west country, was still held by Lord Fleming for Queen Mary, and by reason of its access to the sea was specially valuable for the receiving of succours from abroad. Already in August, 1569, the towns of Glasgow, Ayr, and Irvine had been taxed to provide a

² MS. Letters in State-paper Office, quoted by Tytler, v. iii. ch. x.

³ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 177; Murdin, p. 769; Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 587.

⁴ Buchanan, ii. 589.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 592.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 593.

pinnacle with forty hagbutters, to be stationed in the firth opposite the castle, to prevent supplies reaching the garrison by sea ; and Glasgow, Renfrew, and other places had been prohibited from sending fishing boats up and down the river or allowing them to go near the castle ; while, later in the same year, the provosts and bailies of Glasgow, Ayr, and Irvine had been ordered to pay to the Earl of Glencairn two successive taxations of nine shillings and three shillings on every pound land of old extent, for the support of hagbutters to assist at the siege of the stronghold.⁷ But what these various efforts had failed to accomplish was brought about by a very simple circumstance. The wife of a soldier of the garrison, who was accustomed to visit him, was accused of theft, and was whipped by order of Lord Fleming. The man, who was fond of his wife, and deeply resented the treatment she had been subjected to, deserted from the castle, intent on revenge. Approaching Robert Douglas, a relation of the Regent, he offered, if put in command of a small party, to effect the capture of the place. By Douglas he was passed to Cunningham of Drumquhassel, and by Drumquhassel to the Regent. By Lennox the enterprise was entrusted to his stout henchman, Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill.⁸

This intrepid soldier of fortune was the sixth son of Lawrence Crawford of Kilbirnie. He had been wounded and made prisoner at Pinkie, had followed Queen Mary to France, where he served in the Scots Guards. He had returned with Mary to Scotland, and on her marriage to Darnley had become one of that young lord's gentlemen. When the clergy took to parting with their lands he bought the estate of Jordanhill, a few miles west of Glasgow, which his father had given to the church twenty years before. He built the first mansion on that estate, and is remembered to this day as "of Jordanhill." We have

⁷ *Privy Council Register*, ii. pp. 12, 21, 22, 65, 66.

⁸ Buchanan, ii. 593.

seen the part he played at Queen Mary's visit to her sick husband at Glasgow. From the time of Darnley's murder he became one of Mary's most active opponents. He was made captain of a body of men under the Regent Moray, probably fought against the queen at the Battle of Langside, and, by his deposition at her trial at York, contributed vitally to her twenty years' imprisonment and final execution. Finally, on Moray's return from his arraignment of Queen Mary before Elizabeth at Westminster, and his betrayal of the Duke of Norfolk to the English queen, and when yet another victim was necessary to restore him to favour with that sovereign, it was Crawford who appeared before the Privy Council at Stirling, and, in the name of the Earl of Lennox, denounced Maitland of Lethington as one of Darnley's murderers.⁹

For the capture of Dunbarton Castle Crawford laid his plans well. A truce with the garrison expired at midnight on 30th March. On the evening of that day Crawford sent Cunningham forward with some horsemen to cut the approaches and prevent any news of the attempt reaching the garrison, while he himself followed with the foot soldiers. Sometime after midnight he was met at the foot of Dunbuck Hill, a mile from Dunbarton, by Cunningham, with the scaling ladders, and the news that all was quiet. Only now were the soldiers informed of their enterprise. Crawford showed them the guide, who had promised to ascend the rock first, and assured him and the others of high military honours in the event of their success. Having rested a little, they moved forward, and reached the foot of the rock a little before daybreak.

So negligent and secure had the garrison become that numbers of them were in the habit of spending the night in the neighbouring town of Dunbarton "in wanton revellings," and the watch on the walls must have been careless enough. At

⁹ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 147-8; MS. Letter, State-paper Office, quoted by Tytler, vol. iii. ch. ix.



OLD HOUSES IN THE DRYGATE.

first the sky was clear, with stars, but a mist came down at the moment of attack, and hid the summit of the crag. The assailants were hindered, first by a broken bridge, and then by a sudden flame which they took for a signal that they were discovered, but which turned out to be merely a marsh will-o'-the-wisp. Next, when they set the ladders up, one of them with the men on it, fell. Then, higher on the rock, one of the men on a ladder was seized with a fit. He was tied to the spars, the ladder was turned round, and the others ascended over his body. It was not till they topped the wall that the scaling party was discovered. As three of the guard gave the alarm, and rushed to the attack, Alexander Ramsay, followed by two others, leapt into the fortress. The old wall crashed down after them, filling up the inequalities of the rock, and, as the whole party poured in, with the shouts of "A Darnley! A Darnley!" the astonished garrison fled in all directions. Lord Fleming escaped by sliding down a precipitous rock and making off in a small boat; but his wife was seized, as well as John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and others.

Lennox, arriving before noon, consoled Lady Fleming by restoring her plate, wardrobe, furniture, and one of her husband's estates; but the Archbishop he hurried off to execution, and he was hanged in his episcopal robes on the 6th of the month at Stirling.¹⁰ For his services Crawford received the lands of Bishop's Meadow, Blackstone Barns, and Mills of Partick, with a pension of £200 Scots.¹ He also, shortly afterwards, bought for a town house the manse of the Parson of Glasgow² in Limmerfield or Drygate Lane east of the Bishop's Castle.³ There with his wife he lived a good deal; but his warlike

¹⁰ A circumstantial account of the whole enterprise is furnished by Buchanan in vol. ii. pp. 593-9.

¹ *Great Seal Register*, iii. 578, No. 2199.

² Gibson's *Hist. of Glasgow*, p. 59; see also *infra*, p. 40.

³ *Old Ludgings of Glasgow*, p. 32.

exploits were not yet over. In 1573, when the capture of Edinburgh Castle was resolutely determined upon, Captain Crawford was one of the two commanders in the attack, and, after the storming of the Spur, it was they who were secretly admitted to receive the surrender of the fortress. Crawford became provost of Glasgow in 1577, as a substitute for a later Earl of Lennox. It was he who is said to have saved the cathedral in that year when the rabble wished to destroy it, by saying he was quite in favour of "dinging down the Hie Kirk, but not till they had built a new Kirk in its place."¹ He also built the bridge over the Kelvin at Partick, which stood till 1895, bearing his arms and a shrewd motto. And he represented Glasgow at the Convention of Estates in 1578. In the end the old soldier of fortune, long a substantial citizen, died in his bed in 1603.

¹ See, however, *infra*, p. 158.

CHAPTER V

SUPERINTENDENT WILLOCKS—ARCHBISHOP PORTERFIELD

MEANWHILE the church of John Knox seems to have found enough to do in arranging its own machinery. The ideals of Presbyterian church government were still in a nebulous state. The small handful of reformed preachers, scattered over the country, evidently required watching. Several of these persons were merely, in the words of Knox himself, "certain zealous men who took upon them to preach," without education or ordination,¹ and more than once they proved a source of weakness. On one occasion Knox had to journey to Jedburgh to investigate a scandal of the grossest sort into which one of these lay-ministers had fallen, for which the minister had subsequently to do penance in sackcloth and on the cutty-stool at St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh.² The Reformer could not appoint bishops as overseers of his new church, for he was not a bishop himself, and of the three Catholic bishops who became Protestant, only one, Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, had been consecrated.³ In the emergency Knox hit upon the plan of appointing "superintendents" over the various districts. These men—there were five of them—had

¹ *Hist. of Reform.* p. 251. The qualifications demanded of them were, to judge from the Book of Discipline, primitive enough.

² McCrie's *Life of Knox*, pp. 250, 251. The early Assemblies had to deal with many cases of the misbehaviour of the ministers with young women of their congregations.

³ Stephens' *Hist. of Ch. of Scot.* i. 125, note.

the disciplinary powers of bishops,⁴ and the literature dealing with the time is full of controversy regarding their authority. In particular it was questioned how Knox, who was not himself a bishop, could appoint bishops. Like the ministers, some of these superintendents, such as the famous John Erskine of Dun, were laymen, and the actions of some of them were also open to question.⁵

The individual thus appointed Superintendent of the West was John Willock or Willocks, formerly a friar in the town of Ayr. Adopting the Reformed doctrines, he had fled to England to avoid persecution. There he acted as a preacher in St. Catherine's, London, and as chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk. On the accession of Mary Tudor he had fled to Emden in Friesland. By the Countess of Friesland, he was, in 1555 and 1556, sent on missions to the Queen Regent of Scotland, and had taken an active part in the Reformation,⁶ being Knox's most trusted coadjutor. The two sides evidently held very different views as to his character. Thomas Archibald, Chamberlain to Archbishop Beaton, wrote to his master in Paris—"John Willocks is made bishop of Glasgow, now, in your lordship's absence, and placed in your place of Glasgow"; and he goes on to tell how Willocks had taken possession of the Dean of Glasgow's house, and secured £1000 out of the revenues of the archbishopric.⁷ And the venerable Father Thomas Innes, in his letter to Glasgow University in 1738, forwarding extracts from the Protocol Register of the Diocese, accounts for the fewness of these records saved by Archbishop Beaton by the statement that "the Friar Willox, with those of his gang," had possessed themselves of the Glasgow buildings.⁸

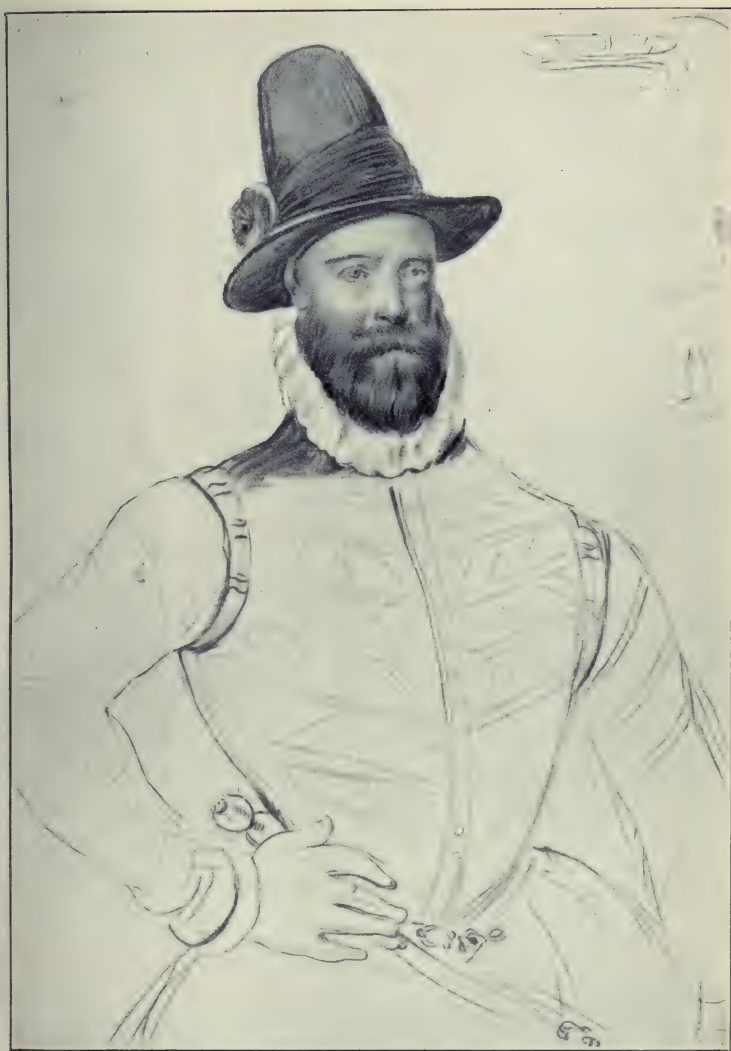
⁴ Keith, iii. p. 516-519.

⁵ The time of the General Assemblies of 1565 was largely taken up with complaints of ministers against superintendents, and *vice versa*.

⁶ Gibson's *Hist. of Glasgow*, p. 58; Wodrow *Miscellany*, vol. i. pp. 261-4; Knox's *History*.

⁷ Keith, iii. 490.

⁸ *Spalding Club Miscellany*, ii. 368.



THE REGENT MORTON.

On the other hand, when Knox found it prudent to abandon his flock and flee from Edinburgh when the queen-regent entered the city in 1559, Willocks took his place, and by his prudence and firmness did much to maintain peace.⁹ The esteem of his brethren in the Reformed Church was shown by the fact that he was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly in 1563 and again in 1565. Within his own district he evidently had some trouble, for the General Assembly of June, 1562, whose principal business was to ordain that "if ministers be disobedient to superintendents they must be subject to correction," remitted "the slander raised upon Mr. Robert Hamilton, minister of Hamilton" to the trial of the superintendent of Glasgow, "to remove him out of the ministry if he thought expedient."¹⁰

Willocks seems to have had no power to touch the temporalities of the bishopric. In 1571, however, a change took place. The Reformed Church had now become more powerful. There were 252 ministers, 157 exhorters, and 508 readers,¹ and they began to exercise a greater influence in state affairs. Seeing the superintendents were advanced in years, and others unlikely to take up their duties without greater emolument, the Assembly appointed a commission to attend Parliament and treat with the Regent as to a better settlement.²

It appears to have been upon this petition that Lennox as Regent proceeded with the new device of appointing actual archbishops for the express purpose of legally alienating the properties of the Church. The public, seeing the object for which these persons were appointed, gave them the name of "Tulchans," after the stuffed image of a calf which it was a

⁹ McCrie's *Life of Knox*.

¹⁰ Stephens' *History of Ch. of Scot.* i. 164.

¹ Note to Life and Times of Archbishop Hamilton in *Episcopal Magazine*, ii. 337.

² Spottiswood, v. 258.

common device to bring into a byre to enable the cows to be more easily milked. In the policy which Lennox thus adopted there is reason to believe that personal interest also played a strong part. The Regent seems to have been entirely under the influence of the Earl of Morton, who, according to one writer, had such an ascendancy over him that he "could have made him forfeit his word of honour ten times in a day."³ Another authority, referring to the hanging of Archbishop Hamilton, says: "There is some ground to suspect that the Earl of Morton, who had been gasping for the revenues of St. Andrews, and who managed Lennox as he pleased, had been the chief promoter of the primate's hasty fate; for, immediately on his death, he solicited so strongly for the rich temporalities of that see, that, by threatening to leave the court in case of a refusal, he so overawed Lennox, who could not do without him, that he obtained a gift of them; which through all the various forms of polity that ensued, he took care not to part with."⁴

The "gift" thus mentioned was not a direct proceeding, but was effected by appointing Morton's nominee, John Douglas, rector of the University of St. Andrews, to be archbishop of that see. The Kirk, seeing the revenues of the archbishopric thus passing into other hands, protested against the appointment, and the superintendent of Fife inhibited the archbishop elect from voting in parliament in name of the Kirk, under pain of excommunication. Morton, however, rebuffed the protest "with contumelious words," and commanded Douglas to vote under pain of treason.

Having thus feathered his friend's nest, Lennox proceeded to feather his own.

Archbishop Beaton was still alive, and acting as Queen Mary's ambassador in Paris; but three months after Mary's overthrow at Langside the Privy Council, as we have seen, had

³ Crawford's *Memoirs*.

⁴ Skinner, quoted by Stephens in *Hist. of Ch. of Scot.* i. 221.

passed an Act ordaining that, as he had failed to appear and answer "such things as might be laid to his charge,"⁵ he should be denounced rebel and put to the horn, and all his movable goods escheated and brought to the king's use. A month later, on 18th September, a decree of forfeiture had been pronounced against him as a favourer of Queen Mary.⁶ Still, however, as we have seen from the rental book of the diocese, Beaton's steward continued to enter tenants, draw rents, and transact business. This now came to an end. Lennox appointed a new archbishop to the see. The person selected was obviously a creature of his own. John Porterfield was minister of the parish of Kilmaronock, on the south-eastern shore of Loch Lomond. This parish, which then extended from the water of Endrick on the east to the River Leven on the west, was the headquarters of the old Earldom of Lennox, containing that earldom's two chief strongholds, Balloch Castle and Catter, and notwithstanding the "partition" of the earldom a century before, it was still largely in possession of Lennox himself.⁷ Porterfield's stipend in Kilmaronock was £120 Scots. The purpose of his appointment to the archbishopric appears clearly enough to have been to transfer the possessions of the see to Lennox himself.⁸ His appointment must have been one of the last acts of the Regent's life. On 7th September, 1571, sitting as archbishop in the Parliament of Stirling, he subscribed an Act then passed,⁹ but already, three days previously the Earl had met his fate.

While the king's party were holding their parliament in Stirling—the assembly in which the infant James VI. remarked, pointing to some damage in the roof, "There is ane hole in this parliament"—Queen Mary's adherents were holding a parlia-

⁵ *Privy Council Register*, i. p. 638.

⁶ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 188.

⁷ Return of Charles II. to the Darnley portion of the Lennox, printed in Irving's *Hist. of Dunbartonshire*, pp. 87, 88.

⁸ Keith, p. 260.

⁹ *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, iii. p. 70.

ment of their own in Edinburgh. Hearing that the Regent lay with few precautions against surprise, the lords of the Queen's party formed the plan of a sudden raid. A little before sunset on 3rd September, with a force of 60 hagbutters and 340 Border horse, Huntly, Buccleuch, and Lord Claud Hamilton set out from Edinburgh. About sunrise next morning they reached Stirling, and so rapid and unexpected were their movements that before the town was aware they had captured the Regent Lennox himself, with seven other earls and three lords of the king's party. While the Borderers, however, scattered for plunder, the town rose and the Earl of Mar opened fire from his half-built mansion at the head of Broad Street. The tables were turned and the raiders forced to flee. Before they went, however, one of their leaders, Captain Calder, seized the opportunity to shoot the Regent, who died that same night.

Porterfield's only intromission with the affairs of the archbishopric appears to have been his consent, on 20th October, 1571, to the conveyance of the parsonage house of Glasgow, with its garden, sloping down to the Molendinar on the east side of the Bishop's Castle, by the rector or parson, Archibald Douglas, to the redoubtable Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill, the capturer of Dunbarton Castle a few months earlier.¹⁰ The licence for Porterfield's election was only issued on 8th February following, and he seems almost immediately to have retired into private life and his parish on Loch Lomondside again, for at the parliament held at Edinburgh in January, 1572-73, Episcopacy was established in the Scottish Church,¹ and in the September following, James Boyd of Trochrig, minister of Kirkoswald, was made Archbishop of Glasgow.

The circumstances attending this appointment are sufficiently interesting. Robert, fourth Lord Boyd, was the great

¹⁰ *Great Seal Register*, iii. p. 540, No. 2068.

¹ Spottiswood, p. 260; Tytler, iii. chap. xi.; Cunningham, i. 341-346.



THE SEAL OF JAMES BOYD, ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW, 1572-81.



man of the family which was afterwards to attain the Earldom of Kilmarnock. He had fought for Queen Mary at Langside,² but on her cause becoming desperate had joined the party of the Regent Lennox, where his natural ability appears to have made him welcome. On 28th August, 1571, his escheat was removed and he was appointed a commissioner to treat with Queen Elizabeth. The death of Lennox and the appointment of Mar as Regent did not interrupt Boyd's career, for on 4th October he became a member of the Privy Council,³ and when in turn, on 28th October, 1572, Mar died, and a month later Morton became Regent, it was probably felt more necessary than ever to secure Boyd's adherence. A cheap and easy means of doing this lay at hand. On the day of Morton's election, 24th November, 1572, John Knox had died, and the way was cleared for the wolves to descend on the patrimony of the Church. Six weeks later the ordinance was passed restoring Episcopacy, and forthwith, while Morton's nominee, John Douglas, rector of St. Andrews University, was confirmed in the archbishopric of St. Andrews, the archbishopric of Glasgow was conferred on Lord Boyd's nephew, the minister of Kirkoswald.

² *Great Seal Register*, iii. 509, No. 1969.

³ *Privy Council Register*, ii. 83.

CHAPTER VI

ARCHBISHOP BOYD—ALLOTMENT AND FEUING OF LANDS— ARRIVAL OF ANDREW MELVILLE AND ESME STEWART

JAMES BOYD of Trochrig, second son of Adam Boyd of Pinkhill and Helen Kennedy of the house of Cassillis, had, like Lord Boyd himself, fought on behalf of Queen Mary at Langside, but, having obtained a remission, had been appointed to a charge in the Kennedy country. Immediately upon his promotion as archbishop, Boyd appears to have set about the transference of power and property into the hands of the head of his house.

To begin with, the archbishop himself entered into possession of the castle of Glasgow. By the Regent Moray, after the Battle of Langside in 1568, the keeping of the stronghold had been committed to Sir John Stewart of Minto. By the king's letters Stewart was now ordered to hand it over to the archbishop, and was granted a discharge of his actings while in possession.¹

Sir John Stewart of Minto was then provost of Glasgow and bailie of the regality as nominee of the late Regent, Matthew, Earl of Lennox.² The new archbishop, however, superseded him in both of these offices. The earliest extant record of the Burgh of Glasgow, on 19th January, 1573-74, shows "ane noble and michtie lord, Robert Lord Boyde," acting as provost. A few days earlier, the archbishop, with consent of the dean

¹ *Privy Council Register*, ii. 301, 697, 698.

² *Charters and Documents*, ii. 149, No. lxiii.

and canons, had by charter appointed the same noble and michtie lord hereditary bailie and justiciar of the barony and regality, and, to meet his "great expenses and labours" in these offices, granted him £40 a year of the rents of Badley, Mollence, Gartaforrowrie, Mukcrawis, Gartynquene, Gartynquenemure, Johnestoune, Crystoun, Auchingeich, Gartinkirk, Auchinlocht, Robrestoun, and Davidstoune, within the barony, along with the amercements and escheats of courts.³

To fortify the position still further, the Privy Council a month later declared Archbishop Beaton and a number of other persons to be traitors, and prohibited all communication with them.⁴

There are signs that the new archbishop and his bailie showed a tendency to be grasping in their exploitation of the temporalities of the see. Sir John Stewart of Minto presented a memorial to the General Assembly setting forth how, while keeper of the castle and steeple of Glasgow, "and of the principal keyes of the cuntre," he had been forced, not only to spend his own means and the means of friends, but to take up part of the revenue of the bishopric for the year 1569, to keep and furnish the castle and steeple and "set forward other common affairs." This had been done with the approval of Mr. Andrew Hay, commissioner, and Mr. David Wemyss, minister of Glasgow, both of whom thought it better that the revenues should be thus applied than that they should be used by enemies "to maintain the adverse cause." Nevertheless Sir John and the tenants from whom these revenues had been uplifted now found themselves called upon to pay the sums over again. The matter was remitted from the Assembly to the Privy Council, by whom Sir John and the others were assoilzied from the claim.⁵

³ *Great Seal Register*, No. 2407, pp. 647, 648.

⁴ *Privy Council Register*, ii. 334.

⁵ *Privy Council Register*, ii. 347, 348.

Under Lord Boyd as provost the enclosing and allotting of the common lands of the city appear to have made further progress, and more than one protest was made against the alienation of ground required by the inhabitants for the cutting of peat fuel and the grazing of milk cows. It may or may not be significant that the first protest was made against the assignment of a plot of land to one of Lord Boyd's own name. On 1st May, 1574, the merchants (*i.e.* shopkeepers) and six deacons of crafts protested against the assigning of part of the common muir to James Boyd, "or to ony utheris mair nor is ellis delt," and also urged that the parts already divided out and given off without their consent "in tymes bigane" should be made subject of revision and recall.⁶ On 21st June, 1576, a further and more considered protest was made on the same subject. By this it appears that it had been arranged that each burgess was to have half an acre, but that the provost and bailies had given off further ground without the common consent. "Wire-pulling" had apparently been resorted to. The complainers declare that "owre deaconis wotis ar socht seuerallie in private houssis, quhair the haill suld be callit to geve our consentis togidder," and they sturdily declare that if the provost and bailies do not cease the giving off of land required for "the pasturing of guddis for the sustening of our babies," they will be to blame. They conclude by urging the provost "for the luf ye beir to God and the commoion wiell of our toun and our successouris that your lordschip haif better attendance thairto, and nocht for ewery licht sute or requeist acquiesce or grant thairto, and suffer nocht our haill communitie (common land) to becum proper (an individual possession) and taine fra us." After debate the council agreed that, since what was left of the common lands would scarcely serve the townsmen for the pasturing of their cows and the furnishing of fuel, no further feuing or portioning off should take place. It was moreover

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. p. 9.

declared that any such further feuing or allotment should, if attempted, be "of nane awaill, strengthe, nor effect." ⁷

Lord Boyd continued to secure the foundations of his family by acquiring large properties elsewhere. Among these were broad lands in Cunningham—Portincross and Ardnigel, Netherton, Bircat, Braidschaw, and Knockindon, and also, it is said, Giffortland, for which he obtained charters from the king. ⁸

At the same time the archbishop attended the Assembly on 6th March, 1574, was appointed to the committee for drawing up the Second Book of Discipline, and was chosen Moderator. But in the autumn that stout coadjutor of John Knox, Andrew Melville, returned from Geneva, was appointed Principal of the College of Glasgow, and proceeded to organize opposition to the episcopal system. In the spring and again in the autumn Assembly of 1576 the archbishop was challenged for not attaching himself as pastor to a particular congregation. The same objection might have been raised a few years earlier against the superintendent, John Willocks, but that was, of course, "another pair of sleeves." The archbishop urged that he was acting according to the agreement between the Regent and the Assembly itself, which was to last during the king's minority, or until parliament should alter it, and that by his oath he must conform to that agreement or be guilty of perjury. At the same time he offered, without prejudice to his episcopal authority, to act as pastor of one particular church whilst residing in Ayrshire and of another whilst in Glasgow. This arrangement seems to have remained undisturbed till the end of Morton's regency, in March, 1577-8. A month later the General Assembly met at Edinburgh, chose the uncompromising republican, Andrew Melville, as moderator, declared that all

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. p. 52.

⁸ *Great Seal Register*, iii. 580, No. 2201, 742, No. 2717; *Douglas Peevage*, ii. 34.

bishops must be called by their own names, or simply brethren, and that, owing to the great corruption already visible in the estate of bishops, no further appointments to that office should be made till the next General Assembly.⁹ At that Assembly held in June, this order was made perpetual, and at the next, on 24th October, the Archbishop of Glasgow was accused of neglecting his duties. Boyd maintained the scriptural authority of his office, but his answer being declared unsatisfactory, and Melville deputed to threaten him with excommunication, he submitted unconditionally to the Assembly held in Edinburgh on 27th July, 1579.¹⁰

Meanwhile by a coup at Stirling on 26th April, 1578, Morton, though no longer Regent, had regained the chief power in Scottish affairs, and the archbishop's temporal authority was not interfered with. He had, however, other troubles. Calderwood states that, a year or two after his appointment, Lord Boyd found him less pliable than he had expected, and caused his son, the Master of Boyd, to seize the archbishop's castle and levy the episcopal revenues.¹ This may refer to the action of a party employed, it is said, by Robert Boyd of Badinheath, who on 10th January, 1578-9, destroyed the archbishop's country seat and stronghold of Lochwood a few miles to the east of the city. Sir James Marwick suggests that this outrage may have been occasioned by the refusal of the archbishop to submit to the demands of the Kirk.² But there appears to be a more obvious reason. On 4th March, 1572-3, after the decree of barratry against Archbishop Beaton, the keeping of Lochwood had been given by the Regent Morton to Boyd of Badinheath. Archbishop Boyd would naturally reclaim this, and its destruction by Badinheath would be an act of revenge. The

⁹ Tytler, iv. ch. i.

¹⁰ Chalmers's *Caledonia*, iii. 625; Spottiswoode, ii. 202, 256-7; Calderwood, iii. 403, 411-428.

¹ Calderwood, iii. 302.

² *Charters and Documents*, i. cxii.

archbishop complained to the Privy Council, but the only result was that, while Badinheath was ordered to cease from further destruction, the archbishop was directed to cease from molesting him and his helpers for what they had done.³ Lochwood evidently remained in the hands of Badinheath, for a generation later, on 20th March, 1617, Robert, Lord Boyd, was served heir of Robert Boyd of Badinheath, his grandfather's brother, to the four-pound lands of Lochwood, with the lakes and fishings in the regality of Glasgow held in fee farm.⁴

For these events the archbishop evidently cherished no malice against his uncle and patron. On 1st June, 1579, he granted to Lord Boyd a feu of the lands of Whiteinch meadow, with the New Park and Auld Park of Partick.⁵ On 13th November, 1579, he granted to George Elphinstoun of Blythswood, one of the bailies of Glasgow, a feu of the lands of Gorbals and Bridgend, with half of the five merk lands of Woodside.⁶ And on 2nd February, 1580, he granted Lord Boyd a feu of the lands of Bedlay, Mollanys, and others, part of the Provost's Haugh, with four acres of Cuninglaw, all in the barony and regality of Glasgow—which lands Lord Boyd had previously held in rental—for payment of a feu duty of £8 2s. Scots. This feu duty the archbishop allocated as part payment of Lord Boyd's fee of £40 Scots payable as remuneration for his labours as bailie and justiciary of the barony and regality.⁷

Already, two years previously, Lord Boyd had been dispossessed of the office of bailie of the regality. The circumstances are interesting. By the death of the regent, Mathew, Earl of Lennox, in September, 1571, the earldom with its lands and other property had devolved on King James as only son

³ *Privy Council Register*, iii. 99.

⁴ Chalmers's *Caledonia*, iii. 639, note g.

⁵ *Great Seal Register*, iii. 807, No. 2937.

⁶ *Inventure*, i. p. 44, No. 1; *Great Seal Register*, iii. 807, No. 2938.

⁷ *Great Seal Register*, iv. p. 155, No. 509.

of Lord Darnley. The earldom and lands were, however, made over to the king's uncle, Lord Darnley's younger brother Charles. When Earl Charles died in 1576, leaving an only daughter, Lady Arabella Stewart, the earldom and its possessions again fell to the king. Two years later, action was taken to reclaim for the king, as heir of the Regent Lennox, the hereditary bailiership of the regality of Glasgow. It was declared that the office had been enjoyed by the Earls of Lennox from time immemorial, and that Lord Boyd, during the later troubles, had intruded himself into it. Accordingly, on 14th May, 1578, it was ordained that the king, as Earl of Lennox, should be repossessed in the bailiership.⁸ A month later the earldom of Lennox with its lands and offices was conferred on Robert Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, younger brother of the Regent Lennox.⁹ The charter included the other rights of old incorporated with the earldom, and accordingly the bailiership of the regality of Glasgow became once more an appanage of the house of Lennox. On 30th September, in the same year, the new earl was made a burgess of the city, and the archbishop, reviving his right to nominate the provost and bailies, appointed the earl to be provost. By this act Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill, who during the previous year had been provost as nominee of Lord Boyd,¹⁰ was superseded in the office. Crawford protested at the time, "that the auld libertie and privilege of the toun be observit and keipit," and also, two days later, that he had been put out of the council "but ony falt and vncallit thairfore."¹ But the transaction stood, and the procedure was repeated by the archbishop on 6th October in the following year.²

Another event of far-reaching consequence now occurred,

⁸ *Privy Council Register*, ii. 697.

⁹ *Great Seal Register*, iii. 762, No. 2785.

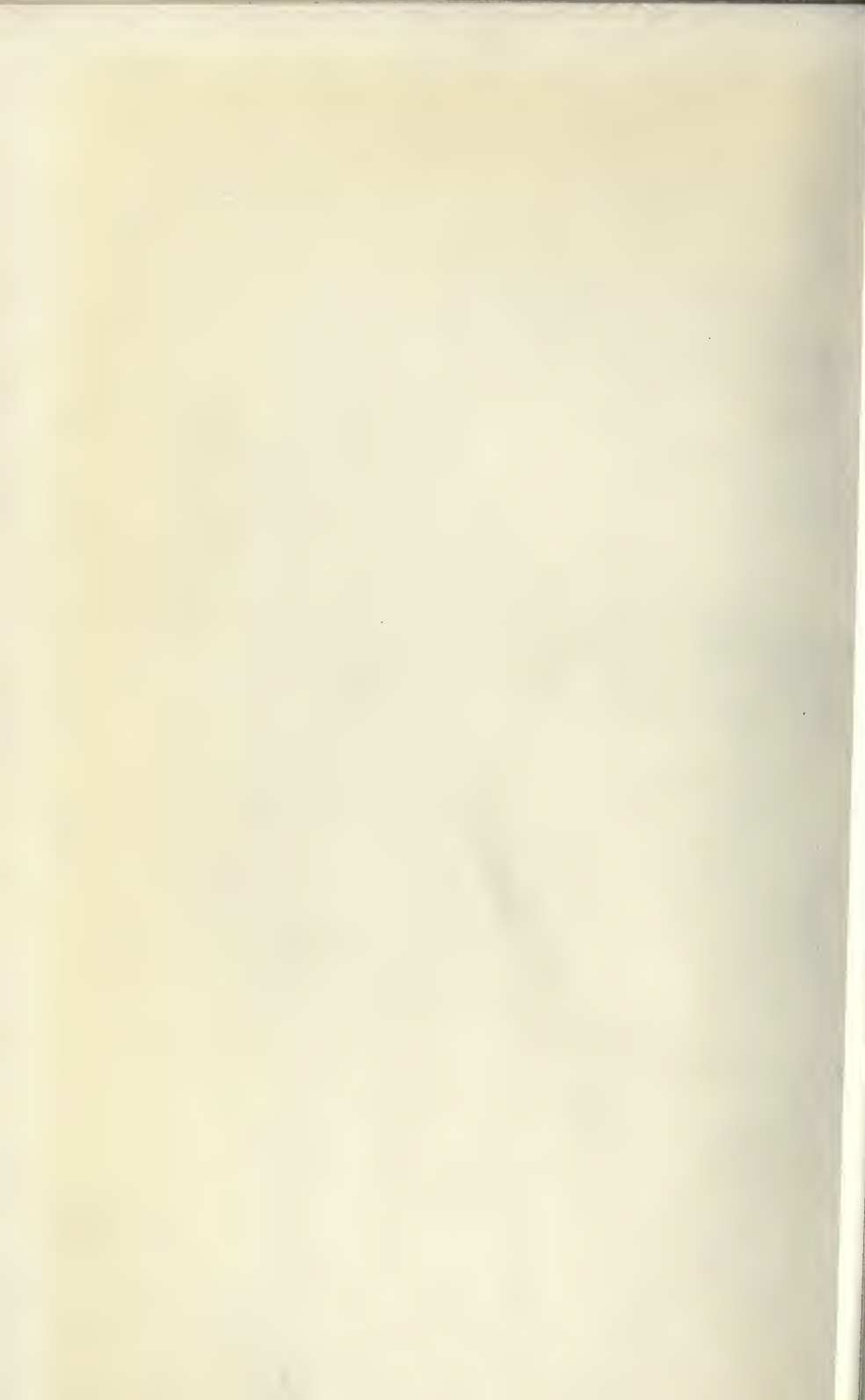
¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, i. 71, 1st Oct. 1577.

¹ *Burgh Records*, i. 71.

² *Ibid.* i. 76.



THE REGENT LENNOX.



Esme Stewart, son of John Stewart, Lord d'Aubigny, governor of Avignon, captain of the Scots *gens d'armes* in France, and a younger brother of the Regent Lennox and the new Earl Robert, came home from France. When he arrived at Leith on 8th September, 1579, he was probably about thirty years of age,³ and with his handsome person and the refinement and graces of the French court, he at once attracted to an extraordinary degree the admiration and affection of King James, then in his fourteenth year. At Holyrood he had splendid apartments provided for him next those of the youthful monarch, and James proceeded to heap upon him favour after favour in unprecedented fashion. On 14th November, two months after his arrival, he was presented with the rich abbacy of Arbroath, recently forfeited by Lord John Hamilton.⁴ Next, on 4th March, the infeftment of Robert Stewart in the earldom of Lennox was revoked,⁵ and next day was conferred on Esme Stewart, along with many rich lands in different parts of the country.⁶ The new earl was also appointed Great Chamberlain of Scotland, an office which included the personal guardianship of the king.

It was rumoured that Lennox was a Catholic emissary, sent from France by Queen Mary's uncle, the Duke of Guise, to influence James against England. He had brought with him forty thousand crowns, possibly for purposes of corruption;⁷ he had had a consultation before leaving France with Mary's agents, Archbishop Beaton and the Bishop of Ross; and the Duke of Guise had accompanied him to Dieppe, and conferred with him long on the ship before his departure.⁸ It is true that

³ Calderwood, iii. 457.

⁴ *Great Seal Register*, iii. 803, No. 2920.

⁵ *Privy Council Register*, iii. 271, 272. He received in exchange, two years later, the Earldom of March and Lordship of Dunbar; *Great Seal Register*, iv. 139, No. 448; *Douglas's Peerage*, ii. 98, 99.

⁶ *Great Seal Register*, iii. 816, 817, Nos. 2971-4.

⁷ Calderwood, MS. British Museum, fol. 1098; Tytler, iv. ch. i.

⁸ *French Correspondence*, quoted by Tytler, iv. ch. i.

Lennox, at the king's instance, changed his creed, but it soon became clear that a new and strong party had arisen at court, headed by the king's cousin, against the ex-regent Earl of Morton, Queen Mary's bitterest enemy.

In the midst of these intrigues, on 4th October, 1580, Mathew Stewart of Minto, acting as procurator for "Esme, Earl of Lennox, Lord Darnley and Aubigne," presented to the town council of Glasgow a letter from Archbishop Boyd, nominating and presenting the earl as provost for the year, which nomination the bailies and council accepted "gladly with reverence." At the same time Mathew Stewart himself was made a member of the council, and the retiring bailies and council presented a list to the archbishop from which he named three new bailies for the year.⁹

A curious thing then happened, the reason for which is not quite clear. The three bailies thus appointed, whose names had been submitted by the town council, appeared on 15th October before the Privy Council, and at the request of the king, and for the favour they bore to the earl, resigned the bailiership, and consented to the nomination of such other persons as the Earl thought good, without prejudice to the appointment of magistrates in the usual way in years to come,¹⁰ and on 19th October, Stewart of Minto produced to the town council another letter from the archbishop nominating in their place three other bailies, Robert Stewart, Hector Stewart, and John Graham.

Meanwhile trouble was brewing for Archbishop Boyd himself. At the General Assembly held at Dundee on 12th July, 1580, the opponents of episcopacy, led by Andrew Melville, proceeded to condemn and abolish the system as unwarranted by scripture, and fitted to overthrow the true church of God. All bishops were required not only to demit the office, but to cease acting as pastors till admitted anew by the Assembly.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, i. 79.

¹⁰ *Privy Council Register*, iii. 325.

Synods were appointed to meet in St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Moray, to receive the submission of the bishops of these dioceses, and report to the next assembly to be held at Glasgow, on 24th April, such as refused to submit, with a view to their excommunication. Nothing would probably have pleased the republican, Andrew Melville, better than to see Archbishop Boyd, the chancellor of his own university, humiliated in his own city.

Events, however, were moving rapidly in another direction. At the Privy Council meeting on 31st December, 1580, Captain Stewart, son of Lord Ochiltree, direct descendant, by the way, of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, grandson of King Robert II., executed by James I. in 1425, suddenly appeared and accused the Earl of Morton of being accessory to the murder of Lord Darnley. Morton was at once arrested and confined in Dunbarton Castle till his trial and condemnation on 1st June, and his execution next day.¹ Morton's arrest meant the downfall of the Presbyterian and Elizabethan party, and placed almost absolute power in the hands of Lennox, who on the same day was granted a number of other lands and baronies,² after Morton's execution received his escheat, with the other lands and baronies,³ and on 5th August was made Duke of Lennox, Lord of Aubigny, Tarbolton, and Dalkeith.⁴ He was also made governor of Dunbarton Castle, captain of the guard, and first gentleman of the bedchamber.⁵

The rise of Lennox to predominant influence came too late, however, to save Archbishop Boyd. The conflict with the uncompromising firebrands of the General Assembly had undermined his health. It is pathetic to find that one of his last acts was to confer a substantial favour on the university which had afforded a status as principal to his acrid persecutor,

¹ *Privy Council Register*, iii. 339, 388; *Calderwood*, iii. 482-4, 557-575.

² *Great Seal Register*, iv. 24.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 66; No. 204

⁴ *Privy Council Register*, iii. 413.

⁵ *Crawford*, p. 33.

Andrew Melville. On 28th May, 1581, with consent of his chapter, he granted to the college in perpetuity the whole customs dues of the tron, with the customs of fair or market, of meat or weight, within the burgh.⁶ This grant afforded the means of establishing an additional regent in the university.⁷

On 30th May the archbishop conveyed to Andrew Paterson younger, in West Schiell, the nineteen shilling land there and the twelve shilling and sixpenny land in the village of Meikle Govan both then possessed by him. The transaction affords a good example of the process then going on, of affording the tenants of church lands security of tenure by converting their existing rents into feu-duties. The preamble to Paterson's charter expressly states that "by the acts of the most noble Princes of Scotland, made for the benefit of the kingdom and common weal, it is provided and decreed that the lands and possessions as well of prelates and barons as of any others heritably possessing lands, and of churchmen, should be let and set in feu farm and heritage especially to the old tenants and possessors, that, by the care, industry, and labour of wise men they might be manured, improven, and made to yield better crops." For the nineteen shilling land of West Shields, Paterson undertook to pay a feu-duty of seventeen and five-pence, with three firlots each of bear and oats, two capons and two poultry, and for the twelve shilling and sixpenny land in Meikle Govan, ten and fourpence halfpenny, with two firlots and one peck each of bear and oats, one capon and a half, certain multures, salmon, and services, and twelve pence in augmentation of rental, the sum of money to be doubled in the first year of entry of heirs to the lands.⁸

Three weeks later, on 21st June, the archbishop died.⁹ According to Spottiswoode, he was "a wise, learned, and

⁶ *Charters and Documents*, ii. 189, No. lxxii.

⁷ *Stat. Accounts*, xxi; *Caledonia*, iii. 626.

⁸ *Judicial Records of Renfrewshire*, p. 271.

⁹ Grub, ii. 215.

religious prelate, worthy to have lived in better times." He provided for his wife and family from the estates of the see, made some other small grants from the same source, granted a tenement in Edinburgh to James Boyd of Kipps, and a pension of £200 Scots for life to the king's preceptor, Peter Young.¹⁰ Boyd was buried in the choir of Glasgow Cathedral, next Archbishop Dunbar.¹

¹⁰ *Act. Parl.* iii. 471, 491, 616.

¹ Keith, pp. 260, 261 ; Grub, ii. 191-215.

CHAPTER VII

ARCHBISHOP MONTGOMERIE—CONFLICT WITH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—RAID OF RUTHVEN

So far, the alienation of the temporal possessions of the archbishopric had not proceeded to any great extent. A more determined effort was now, however, made. Notwithstanding the acts of the General Assembly, which probably expressed the feeling of a large number of the burgess and the lower classes of the people, the king strongly desired to continue the episcopal system of church government. In this he was supported by a large proportion of the nobility, partly, no doubt, from desire for the orderly conduct of religion and from dislike of the republican temper of the presbyterian church courts, but partly also, there is good reason to believe, from desire to profit by the transference of church property which the episcopal dignitaries had power to carry out. Foremost in supporting the young king in this policy was the now all-powerful Lennox, and it has been made quite clear that he proceeded of set purpose to exploit for his personal profit to the fullest possible extent the appointment of a new archbishop at Glasgow.

A suitable tool for his purpose lay to his hand in the person of Robert Montgomerie, minister at Stirling. Montgomerie must have been well known to the king and court, who would be among his constant hearers in the noble old kirk under the walls of Stirling Castle. So far he had been a vehement supporter of the party which opposed episcopacy,¹ but he was

¹ Spottiswoode, ii. 281.

evidently a poor creature, and Lennox had recognised this. The duke made a pact with him by which, if appointed archbishop, he was to receive an annual sum of £1000 Scots, with some horse corn and poultry, while all the remaining revenues were to be made over to the duke and his heirs.²

The king himself went to Glasgow on 28th August, and while he remained there, on 3rd October, sent a letter to the town council, requiring it to acknowledge Montgomerie as archbishop, and present the usual leets to him for nomination of bailies. This instruction the council promised "with thair hart" to obey, and the time-honoured proceeding was forthwith carried out.³ On 16th October the king left Glasgow, and next day, at the meeting of the General Assembly, Montgomerie's appointment was intimated to it. The fathers of the kirk refused, however, to recognize the appointment, and an unseemly squabble forthwith began.⁴ Montgomerie, with an armed escort, went to Glasgow, and entered the cathedral, but, finding the pulpit occupied by a minister who refused to give way to him, withdrew for the time.⁵ The presbytery of Stirling then suspended him, and ordered him to attend the synod of Lothian to hear himself excommunicated.⁶ The Privy Council next took up the matter and summoned the recalcitrant kirk session of Glasgow, along with the presbyteries of Glasgow and Stirling, to appear before it.⁷ Montgomerie himself also cited the synod of Lothian to appear. These bodies all declined the jurisdiction of the Privy Council, and that high authority thereupon, on 12th April, 1582, declared that, as the kirk had refused to elect Montgomerie, the appointment to the archbishopric had fallen into the hands of the king, who exercised his right to fill the office, and forbade the kirk from taking any action against

² Richard Hay's MS., quoted in Chalmers's *Caledonia*, iii. 626.

³ *Burgh Records*, i. 89.

⁴ Calderwood, iii. 577, and on.

⁵ *Ibid.* 595.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 619, 620.

⁷ Spottiswoode, ii. 285.

the new archbishop.⁸ In defiance of this order, the ministers summoned Montgomerie to appear before the General Assembly at St. Andrews on 24th April. Montgomerie, equally defiant, attended, and when the Assembly, with Andrew Melville as moderator, proposed to proceed against him, a letter was presented from the king, referring them to the order of the Privy Council, and warning them not to interfere with the royal jurisdiction. On their disregarding this, a messenger-at-arms appeared, and charged them to desist under pain of being denounced as rebels and put to the horn. Still they persisted, and deposed Montgomerie from the ministry. They were proceeding to excommunicate him when he appeared in person and undertook neither to meddle with nor attempt anything regarding the archbishopric except by advice of the General Assembly.⁹

On returning to court, however, Montgomerie was induced to resile from his promise, and was furnished with letters from the king calling on persons in the west country to support him. He then went to Glasgow to preach. The presbytery met to deal with the matter, but, while they were in session, the provost, Sir Mathew Stewart of Minto, with the bailies and some citizens, entered, forbade the proceedings, and summoned the ministers before the Privy Council. On the presbytery refusing to disperse, the magistrates, it was said, laid hands on John Howeson, the moderator, and in the struggle his beard was torn and one of his teeth knocked out, and he was imprisoned in the Tolbooth.¹⁰ During the fracas the college students rushed to help the presbytery, and as blows were exchanged, the provost, fearing a riot, caused the bells to be rung, and by tuck of drum called the burgesses to help.

On the Saturday night the students took possession of the

⁸ *Privy Council Register*, iii. 474-7.

⁹ *Register of Assembly*; Chalmers's *Caledonia*, iii. 626-7.

¹⁰ Calderwood, iii. 621; Spottiswoode, ii. 187-8.

cathedral, and next day excluded Montgomerie, while Principal Smeaton preached from the text, "He that enters not by the door, but by the window, the same is a thief and a robber."¹ Next the presbytery of Edinburgh summoned Montgomerie, and the Privy Council proceeded to deal with the ministers, both of Edinburgh and Glasgow. But on 10th June, in the church of Liberton, sentence of excommunication was published against the archbishop.²

On 16th June a letter from the Duke of Lennox was presented to the town council. Referring to "the truble maid laitle into your toun of Glasgw be the colleigis mouit be the ministeris," it mentioned that the king had given the college charge "not to do the lyke again," and it directed the bailies and town to resist "the violence and bosting of the college."³

Eleven days later Andrew Melville, as moderator, opened the General Assembly with a vehement sermon against the interference of the Privy Council,⁴ and proceedings were instituted against the Duke of Lennox, the Lord Advocate, the magistrates of Glasgow, and others, for abetting Montgomerie while under excommunication. The provost and others were declared worthy of excommunication, and sentence was only delayed at the king's request.⁵ On 2nd July the Privy Council had Montgomerie's appointment and the nullity of his excommunication proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh.⁶ Four days later the commissioners of the kirk presented a list of fourteen grievances before the king at Perth.⁷ On the 11th of the month the Privy Council ordered the Principal and students of Glasgow College to appear before them on 10th September, to

¹ *Privy Council Records*, iii. 486.

² Calderwood, iii. 621 ; Spottiswoode, ii. 289.

³ *Burgh Records*, i. 94.

⁴ Tytler, iv. ch. ii.

⁵ Calderwood, iii. 626.

⁶ *Privy Council Records*, iii. 489.

⁷ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, ii. 582-3.

answer for their action in opposing Montgomerie ;⁸ and on the 20th it passed an act declaring that, as Montgomerie had been lawfully appointed to the see, all feuars and tenants must pay to him the entire fruits of the archbishopric.⁹

The whole miserable business assumes larger interest as the earliest example of that clash between the royal power and the will of the people in ecclesiastical affairs which lasted throughout the reigns of James VI. and Charles I., and cost the latter monarch his head, and which was revived in the reigns of Charles II. and James VII. and II. only to end in the Revolution of 1689, which cost the Stewarts their throne.

Not least to be pitied was the luckless archbishop himself. As a person under the ban of the kirk he dared not appear in the streets of Edinburgh, where he was stoned and insulted, and forced to seek safety in flight. He was refused admission to the courts when he sought redress. The magistrates, instead of protecting him, sided with his persecutors. And even the king seemed to be rather amused than otherwise by his discomfiture.¹⁰

Meanwhile Montgomerie's appointment to the archbishopric of Glasgow, and the struggle between the court and the kirk to which it led, played a highly important part in Scottish affairs, for it may be held to have led directly to the famous incident known as the Raid of Ruthven. From the first the appearance in Scotland of Esme Stewart, and his rise to power as Duke of Lennox, had been watched by Queen Elizabeth with jealousy and dismay. When the Earl of Morton, head of the English party in Scotland, was seized and thrown into prison, she had exerted herself strenuously to save him, even going the length of organizing a plot, through her envoy, Randolph, for the seizure of the king and the murder of Lennox, Argyll, and Montrose. Lennox, however, discovered the plot in the

⁸ *Privy Council Register*, iii. 489-90, note.

⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 496.

¹⁰ Tytler, iv. ch. ii.

nick of time, and Randolph only saved himself by fleeing to Berwick, while the Earl of Angus, his chief tool, was banished beyond the Spey.¹

The Duke's proceedings in the matter of the Glasgow archbishopric gave Elizabeth another chance. Her new envoy, Sir Robert Bowes, exerted himself to excite the fears of the Earls of Gowrie, Mar, Glencairn, and others, regarding a supposed counterplot of Lennox to seize them, banish the leading ministers of the kirk, establish episcopacy, and recall the imprisoned Queen Mary to take part with her son in the government. These "revelations," added to the alarm which had already been excited by the action of Lennox in enforcing the appointment of Montgomerie, immediately brought about the *coup d'état*. Lennox was at Dalkeith, his chief ally, Captain Stewart, who had been made Earl of Arran, was at Kinneil, and the king was at Gowrie's house, Ruthven Castle, near Perth. On the evening of 22nd August, 1582, Gowrie, Mar, Lindsay, and the other conspirators, surrounded the castle with a thousand men, and the Earls of Mar and Gowrie, entering the royal chamber, removed the guards, and took charge of the king. Arran, galloping to retrieve the event, was seized as he entered the castle courtyard, and thrown into confinement, while Lennox was forced to retire, first to Dunbarton and afterwards to France,² where he died in the following year.

Meanwhile Montgomerie, harassed beyond endurance, submitted to the kirk, as also did Sir Mathew Stewart the provost, and other Glasgow supporters, and the General Assembly

¹ Tytler, iv: ch. ii.

² *Privy Council Register*, iii. 506-11. On his way the Duke passed through Glasgow, and it gives some idea of the troubled state of the country to know that his train consisted of 300 men. He arrived from Edinburgh on 6th September at six in the afternoon and left at six next morning. It was the last occasion on which a member of his house occupied the Lennox mansion at the Stablegreen, for while in Dunbarton Castle the Duke conveyed it to William Stewart of Bultreis, and soon afterwards the site was broken up into building lots (*Glasgow Protocols*, 2456, 2666-7, 2673-4).

remitted their case to be dealt with by the Glasgow presbytery.³ Before this could be done, however, another revolution took place. On 25th June, 1583, King James escaped from Falkland Palace to the castle of St. Andrews, called his own friends about him, and overthrew the power of Gowrie and the English faction.⁴ At a parliament held in Edinburgh in May, 1584, Montgomerie petitioned and secured a declaration commanding the censure of the kirk upon him to be stayed and the excommunication of no effect, as also that he should continue to possess all his honours, dignities, and benefices.⁵ The archbishop, however, continued most unpopular. When he appeared in the streets of Ayr, where he lived, he was mobbed by crowds of women and boys, who denounced him as an atheist, a dog, and an excommunicated beast.⁶ Nevertheless on 21st June the king sent a letter to Glasgow town council desiring that Montgomerie should be assisted and fortified by the magistrates. This they promised to do,⁷ and on 18th August, at the archbishop's request, sent a guard of six persons to accompany him to the sitting of parliament.⁸ On 7th October, exercising his powers, Montgomerie chose three persons to be bailies, and appointed Sir William Livingstone of Kilsyth to be provost.

This was the last intromission of Montgomerie, for two years, with the election of magistrates. On 2nd October, 1582, and on 30th September, 1583, in the absence of the archbishop and of his hereditary bailie, the Duke of Lennox, the nomination of a provost was made by King James himself. In the former case Sir Mathew Stewart of Minto was requested by his brother, the Prior of Blantyre, "direct from the King's majesty," and "conform to his credit and commission of the King's majesty" to accept the provostship; and in the latter year John, Earl of Montrose, appeared before Sir Mathew Stewart and the bailies

³ Calderwood, iii. 690.

⁴ Tytler, iv. ch. iii.

⁵ *Act. Parl.* iii. 292-311.

⁶ Tytler, iv. ch. iv.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 108-9.

⁸ *Ibid.* i. 110.

and council of the previous year, and presented a letter from the king nominating him as provost. Both nominations were accepted.⁹ Montrose was a supporter of the Lennox party.

A month after the second of these transactions, in November, 1583, Ludovic, heir of the late Duke of Lennox, having been sent for by the king from France, landed at Leith, and was warmly welcomed by James, who confirmed him in all his father's honours and estates.¹⁰ He succeeded also, under the arrangement made by his father, to the revenues of the Glasgow archbishopric.

In the following May, 1584, parliament annulled the kirk's excommunication of Montgomerie, and on 7th October of that year he exercised his right by nominating Sir William Livingston of Kilsyth to be provost, and George Elphinstone, William Conyngham, and Robert Rowat to be bailies.¹ Also, on 5th October, 1585, he appeared personally in the council, and again nominated Sir William and selected three bailies.²

Not long afterwards, however, another revolution in the government took place, and Montgomerie, in his distress and uncertainty, resigned his rights in the archbishopric in favour of William Erskine, parson of Campsie and late commendator of Paisley.³ Ultimately the General Assembly allowed the luckless ex-prelate to settle as minister of Stewarton in Ayrshire.⁴

⁹ *Burgh Records*, i. 98, 105.

¹⁰ Calderwood, iii. 749; *Privy Council Records*, iii. 609, 614, 615.

¹ *Burgh Records*, i. 112.

² *Council Records*, i. 117.

³ Spottiswoode, ii. 375.

⁴ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VIII.

ARCHBISHOP ERSKINE—RISE OF WALTER STEWART, LORD BLANTYRE—FEUING AND SELLING OF LANDS

THE new archbishop was a layman, and "bare no charge in the church," but he had borne a considerable part in the politics of the time. He was a relative of the Earl of Mar, and his appointment to the archbishopric seems to have been a direct result of the *coup d'état* which finally overthrew the domination of Arran, and brought Lord John Hamilton, the Earls of Angus, Mar, and other chiefs of the English party into power. Erskine's first appointment appears to have been that of parson of Campsie. In 1579, as chamberlain of Paisley, he is found administering the affairs of that abbacy, which had fallen to the crown through the forfeiture of Lord Claud Hamilton.¹ Two months later, in November of the same year, he was himself made commendator of the abbey, under burden of an annual payment of 4000 merks for the furnishing of the king's house.² He received, also, other lands and favours from the king, including a discharge of the burden of 4000 merks.³ But, along with the Earl of Mar, he took part in the *coup d'état*, the raid of Ruthven, on 22nd August, 1581, and on the escape of the king in June, 1583, and the return of Arran to power, he was imprisoned in the castles of Blackness and

¹ *Privy Council Register*, iii. 219, 220.

² *Great Seal Register*, iii. p. 803, No. 2922 ; *Privy Council Register*, iii. 267.

³ *Great Seal Register*, iii. 821, No. 2990 ; *Privy Council Register*, iii. 285 ; *Ibid.* iii. 454, 455.

Doune⁴ and afterwards in Renfrewshire. He took part also with the Ruthven raiders when they seized Stirling in April, 1584,⁵ and when, by the warlike promptitude of the king, who marched against them at the head of an army of 12,000 men, they were forced to flee to England, the Earl of Gowrie was executed, and Erskine was ordered to surrender the abbey, place, and fortalice of Paisley, and banished the realm.⁶ When, however, the Ruthven raiders again entered Scotland in October, 1585, at the head of 8000 men, and, marching on Stirling, compelled Arran to flee,⁷ these decrees were abrogated. As the Hamiltons, along with Angus and Mar, returned to power, and Paisley was restored to Lord Claud Hamilton,⁸ Erskine could not, of course, continue his commendatorship. It was apparently to make up to him for this loss that on 21st December, 1585, the king, with the advice of the Privy Council, granted him the archbishopric of Glasgow.⁹ Curiously enough, in the charter by which this grant was made, no notice was taken of the tenure of the luckless Montgomerie. The charter conveyed to Erskine "all the churches, lordships, and possessions, as well spiritual as temporal," of the archbishopric, "vacant by the decease of Archbishop Boyd, and the forfeiture of Archbishop Beaton, with entry to the fruits of the archbishopric as from 1585, under burden of a pension granted by King James to Nicholas Carncross."

Though the grant of the archbishopric to Erskine was stated in the charter to be for life, he did not enjoy the benefice long. The Glasgow presbytery duly admitted him, but on 20th June, 1587, the General Assembly unanimously declared his admission unlawful, and ordered the presbytery to annul it by Michaelmas.¹⁰

⁴ *Privy Council Register*, iii. 613, 623.

⁵ *Privy Council Register*, iii. 657.

⁶ *Ibid.* 663, 664.

⁷ Spottiswoode, ii. 331.

⁸ *Act. Parl.* iv. 373, 432.

⁹ *Great Seal Register*, iv. 290-1, No. 903.

¹⁰ Spottiswoode, ii. 375; Calderwood, iv. 615, 638; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, ii. 693; *Privy Council Register*, iv. 191.

As a matter of fact, another bright particular star had arisen in the household of James I., and its claims had to be provided for. Sir John Stewart of Minto, whom we have already seen as active in the affairs of Glasgow, was twice married. By his first wife, Johanna Hepburn, he had Sir Mathew Stewart, the provost who installed Archbishop Montgomerie. By his second marriage, with Margaret, daughter of James Stewart of Cardonald, he had an only son, Walter. Walter Stewart was the companion of King James himself under the tutelage of the famous Latinist, George Buchanan. It was a quarrel between the two over possession of a tame sparrow that Buchanan settled by boxing the king's ears and calling him "a quarrelsome bird out of a bloody nest." As a boy he was made Commendator of the Priory of Blantyre by James. He was made one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber in 1580, and was sworn a privy councillor, and made keeper of the Privy Seal in 1582.¹ In 1583 James further conferred on him the lands of Calderhall in the regality of Dalkeith.² But the grant which played the greatest part in enabling Walter Stewart to found the fortunes of a family came in 1587.

The burgh records of Glasgow from 27th April, 1586, till 22nd October, 1588, have been lost, but, so far as is known, William Erskine, while drawing the revenues of the archbishopric of Glasgow, appears to have interfered not at all in the affairs of the city. After the General Assembly had ordered his installation to be annulled, the temporalities were annexed to the crown by the general Act of 29th July, 1587.³

Under the archbishops, as we have seen, these temporalities had been managed by a steward and governed by a bailie. The fruits which might accrue to the crown after the intromissions and charges of these officials were satisfied were probably some-

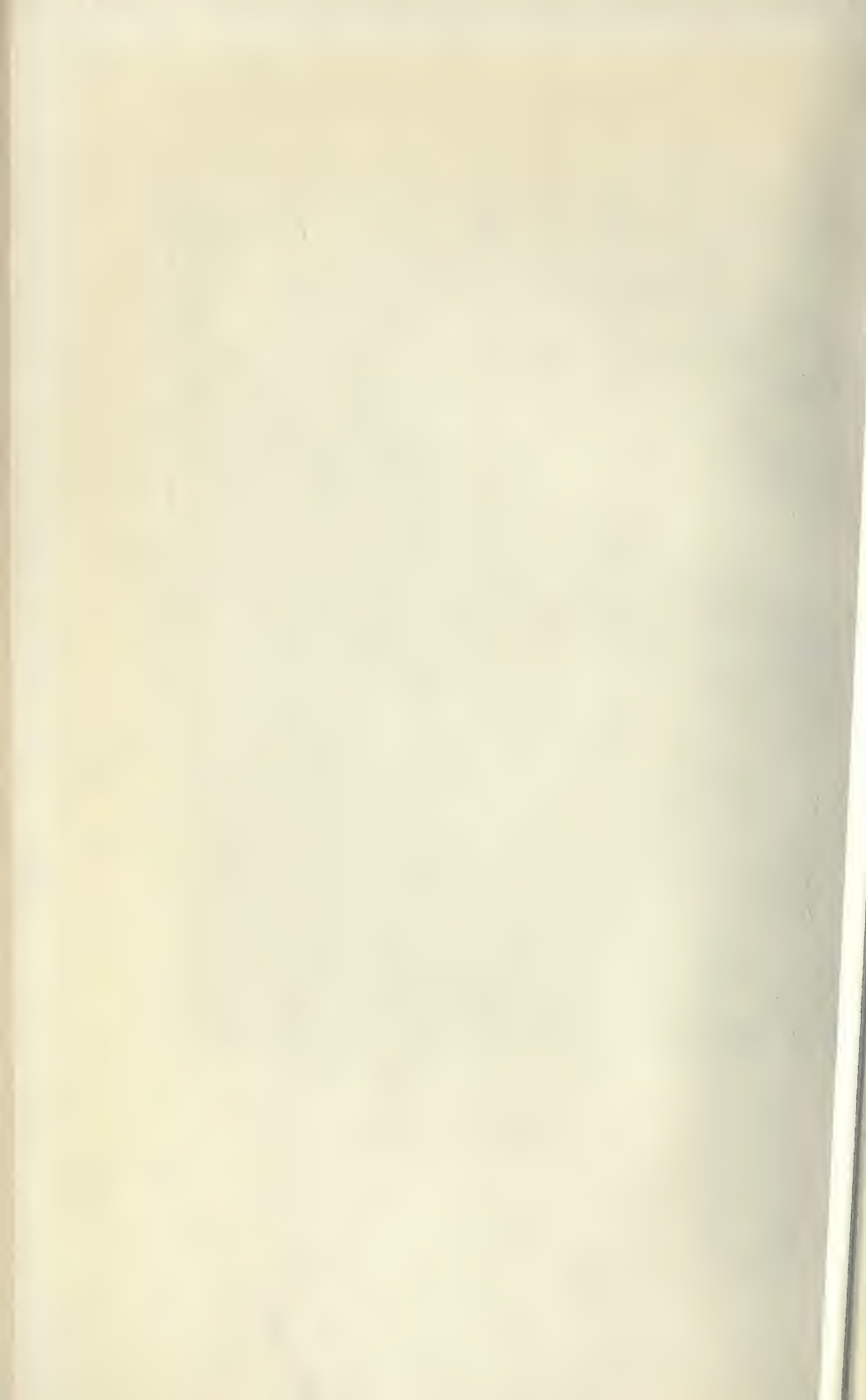
¹ Douglas's *Peerage*, i. 231.

² *Great Seal Register*, iv. 183, No. 589.

³ *Act. Parl.* iii. 431 ; *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. p. 192, No. lxxiv.



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what hypothetical. At anyrate the crown decided to make its share of the proceeds a matter of definite payment. While, accordingly, the ancient episcopal baronies of Stobo and Eddlestoun were disposed to the Chancellor, Maitland of Thirlstane, and that of Carstairs was transferred to Sir William Stewart, son of Sir Andrew Stewart of Ochiltree, the greater part of the Glasgow temporalities—the lands and barony, town and burgh of Glasgow, the baronies of Ancrum, Ashkirk, and Lilliesleaf in Roxburghshire, the lands of Bishop's Forest, Niddrie Forest, the Halfpenny Lands in Carrick, the Kirklands of Cambusnethan, and others—were conveyed to Walter Stewart for payment of an annual feu-duty of £500 Scots. The grant included all patronages which had belonged to the archbishop, as well as the offices of bailie and justiciary of the whole regality, and for the duties connected with these offices Stewart was allowed a fee of £200 Scots yearly.⁴ At the same time the lands thus conveyed were erected into a temporal lordship, to be called the lordship of Glasgow, with the castle of Glasgow for its chief messuage. On 26th August, 1591, this grant was confirmed by the king, and the commendator and his successors were empowered to feu the lands and baronies to the ancient and native tenants.⁵ Under this authority Stewart feued out most of the possessions of the barony to the existing rentallers, who thus obtained security of tenure by the conversion of their former rent into a feu-duty.⁶

One of these transactions, which concerned the city as a whole, possesses an interest of its own. Mention has already been made of the mill on the Kelvin tenanted by Archibald Lych. Originally a waulking or fulling mill, established by Archbishop Blacader, this had originally been let to Donald

⁴ *Great Seal Register*, iv. p. 483, No. 1406; *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. p. 215, No. lxxviii.

⁵ *Great Seal Register*, iv. p. 652, No. 1932; *Charters and Documents*, pt. ii. No. lxxx.

⁶ *Diocesan Registers*, preface, p. 30.

Lyon, Archibald's father, in 1517. When Archibald Lyon was received as rentaller in 1554 he was authorized to convert it into a wheat mill, the rent being four merks yearly, and Lyon being bound to grind all the wheat consumed in the archbishop's house.⁷ In May, 1577, the town's common mill on the Molendinar was found unable to grind all the grain brought to it by the townsmen, and the magistrates accordingly agreed with Lyon to take over his mill.⁸ The price was 1000 merks, and until the town should pay the money Lyon was to be paid thirty bolls of unground malt and twenty bolls of oatmeal yearly, and his heirs, if he should die, 100 merks yearly. For security he received the old town's mill in pledge.⁹ As the town had still to pay the four merks of original rent yearly to the archbishop, it will be seen that the annual value of the mill had gone up from four merks in 1554 to one hundred and four in 1577.

When Walter Stewart became feuer of the barony this was one of the rentals which he desired to see converted into a feu-duty.¹⁰ In order to raise the necessary money the town sold six acres at the Old Greenhead, next the Briggate, and some other properties, by auction for £1338 6s. 8d. Scots, or £111 sterling, and some small feu-duties, and on 9th November, received from Stewart a charter of the mill on the Kelvin, with the miller's house, yard, and ground of Schilhill, for a payment of £600 Scots, and an annual feu-duty of four merks and twelve pennies Scots.¹ From all this it would appear that while the magistrates made anything but a shrewd bargain with Archibald Lyon, they could certainly not complain of the treatment they received from the new owner of the barony.²

⁷ *Charters and Documents*, vol. ii. p. 512, No. 26. ⁸ *Burgh Records*, i. p. 57.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 553, No. xxxix; *Charters and Documents*, pt. ii. p. 446, No. 74.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, i. 120. ¹ *Charters and Documents*, pt. ii. p. 452, No. 97.

² Two centuries later, in 1771, Archibald Lyon's, or Clayslaps Mill was sold to the Bakers' Incorporation, but was repurchased by the city three years later, and the site now forms part of Kelvingrove Park (Marwick's *Early Glasgow*, p. 160).

By such means, within a generation from the establishment of the Reformation in 1560, were the vast possessions of the Catholic Church of Glasgow transferred to other hands. One final act still remained. On 8th July, 1587, Parliament had rescinded the forfeiture and other sentences against the exiled Archbishop Beaton.³ On 29th May, 1589, this act was reversed by the Privy Council ;⁴ but on 29th June, 1598, in consideration of his services as ambassador, Beaton was restored to his honours, dignities, and benefices, notwithstanding all sentences and acts against him, and although he had never made confession of his faith, nor acknowledged the religion professed in Scotland.⁵ Under this act the aged prelate appears to have recovered the enjoyment of nothing more than the revenue of the ancient royalty of Glasgow.⁶ He never returned to Scotland. In France, where he took a considerable part in politics, he enjoyed the revenues of the Abbey of La Sie, the priory of St. Peter's, and the treasurership of St. Hilary of Poitiers. When he died, at the age of 86, in 1603, he left all his goods to the Scots College, which regarded him as its second founder.⁷

Meanwhile, on 21st July, 1593, Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, was granted for his lifetime the superiority of the whole lands and rights of the archbishopric⁸—a grant by which he probably drew the feu-duty payable by Walter Stewart and the feuduties of other rentallers who had received charters from the archbishops and the crown. This act was confirmed on 16th December, 1597,⁹ and on 9th March, 1600, the king granted an undertaking to erect the archbishopric, after the death of Archbishop Beaton, into a temporal lordship, to remain with the house of Lennox for ever.¹⁰ Finally, on 7th April, 1603,

³ *Act. Parl.* iii. YP., pp. 467-470.

⁴ *Privy Council Register*, iv. 388.

⁵ *Act. Parl.* iv. 169, 170.

⁶ *Diocesan Register*, preface, p. 31.

⁷ *Life*, by Archbishop Eyre.

⁸ *Act. Parl.* iv. 38.

⁹ *Ibid.* 146.

¹⁰ *The Lennox*, by W. Fraser, ii. 343 ; *Hist. MSS. Commission*, App. to Third Report, p. 395, No. 155.

while on his journey to occupy the English throne, King James erected "the lands and barony of Glasgow, the castle, city, burgh, and regality of Glasgow, the lands and tenements of that burgh, and certain other lands" into a temporal lordship, to be called the lordship of Glasgow, which he conferred upon the duke, to be holden of the crown for an annual payment of £304 8s. 4d. of money, 36 chalders 4 bolls meal, 13 chalders 4 bolls oats, 49 dozen capons, 31 dozen poultry, and 14 dozen kane salmon, together with all other duties specified in the annual rental of the bishopric, in use to be paid to the archbishop, with twenty merks further of augmentation.¹

¹ *Great Seal Register*, 1593-1608, No. 1457, p. 531; *Privy Seal Register*, vol. lxxiii, fol. 265; *Charters and Documenis*, pt. ii. p. 258, No. lxxxviii.

CHAPTER IX

PARSONS AND MINISTERS—ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS— DAVID WEMYSS

It has already been mentioned that, although the ritual of the Roman Church was made illegal at the Reformation, the clergy of that Church were allowed to retain their benefices for life, subject to deduction of one-third for the Crown and the support of the Protestant ministers. Under this arrangement Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow and Bishop of Ross, was in the enjoyment of the fruits of the parsonage of Glasgow in 1561.¹ Following him, Archibald Lauder, the "persoun" or Parson of Glasgow, continued to enjoy the revenues of the benefice till 1568.² His only recorded action in connection with the affairs of the city was one for which, as a clergyman of the Roman Church, he can hardly be blamed. He appears to have refused to furnish bread and wine for the celebration of communion by the Protestant congregation. In this matter he found himself in the same dilemma which would have assailed John Knox if Queen Mary had asked him to furnish the elements for her Mass at Holyrood. The provost, bailies, and community of Glasgow, however, carried their complaint before the Privy Council, and on 5th October, 1566, Lauder was ordered to comply with the demand.³

The next Parson of Glasgow was one of the greatest blackguards of his time. Archibald Douglas was a grandson of

¹ *Glasgow Protocols*, iii. 643.

² *Cleland's Annals*, i. 124.

³ *Privy Council Register*, i. 492.

John, second Earl of Morton, and a near relative of that sinister personage, the Regent Earl. He was Parson of Douglas in 1565, when he was made an Extraordinary Lord of Session. To avoid the consequences of his implication in the murder of Rizzio he fled to France, but by the intervention of the French king was allowed to return, and helped to secure the pardon of the other conspirators. Almost immediately, however, he engaged in the plot for the murder of Darnley, and it was at his elder brother's seat of Whittingehame that Bothwell, Lethington, and he first proposed to Morton to join the conspiracy.⁴ He was present in person at the murder itself, and on the ground was found a shoe he had dropped as he fled.⁵ It throws a curious light on the character of the Regent Moray that in 1568 he appointed this man an Ordinary Lord of Session, and also Parson of Glasgow. The kirk refused to admit him, but the Privy Council sustained his title.⁶ A significant account is on record of his behaviour when examined as to his fitness for the latter position. After casting over the leaves of the Psalm book in an uncertain fashion, he "desyrit sum minister to mak the prayer for him," with the naïve observation, "I am not used to pray."⁷ His attempt at the construction of a homily was equally inept and ridiculous. For sending money to the queen's party in Edinburgh Castle he was arrested and imprisoned at Stirling,⁸ but escaped with a mock trial. Ten years later, when James Stewart, captain of the Royal Guard, as already narrated, secured the downfall of Morton by accusing him before the Privy Council of the murder of Darnley, he drove home his accusation with the taunt, "As to the Earl's pretended zeal against the guilty, let me ask him, where has he placed Archibald Douglas, his cousin? That most infamous of men, who was an actor in the tragedy, is now a senator, promoted

⁴ Tytler, iii. ch. vii.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. ch. ii.

⁶ *Privy Council Register*, ii. 79, 80.

⁷ Bannatyne's *Journal*, pp. 311-13.

⁸ *Ibid.* 334-5.

to the highest seat of justice, and suffered to pollute that tribunal before which he ought to have been arraigned as the murderer of his prince." As a result, while Morton was instantly seized, Hume of Manderstone, with a party of horse, rode furiously all night to apprehend Douglas in his castle of Morham, only to find that he had escaped, a few hours earlier, across the English Border, his friend the Laird of Lang-Niddry having ridden two horses to death to give him warning in time.⁹ His brother Whittingehame was the "deep dissembler and fearful wretch" whose "faithless and traitorous dealing" in revealing secrets brought Morton to the scaffold.¹⁰ In England Archibald Douglas ingratiated himself into the confidence of Queen Mary and the French Court, who trusted him in their confidential communications.¹ After the Raid of Ruthven he was base enough to write to Elizabeth's agent, Randolph, that Captain Stewart, now Earl of Arran, had offered, in order to save his own life, to accuse his friend, the Duke of Lennox, of high treason.² But while he was exultingly preparing to return to Scotland he was seized by order of Queen Elizabeth, had his house and papers ransacked, and was committed to the keeping of Henry Killigrew, who in a letter to Walsingham styled him "The old Fox."³ Then, to secure his own freedom the precious Parson of Glasgow proceeded to betray all he knew of the secrets of Queen Mary, and to plot against her with a success which ultimately led to her destruction.⁴ He was the chief organiser in England of the plot of Queen Elizabeth and of the treacherous Master of Gray by which in November, 1585, the banished lords returned, besieged Stirling Castle, and

⁹ Calderwood MS., fol. 1116, quoted by Tytler, iv. ch. ii.

¹⁰ Randolph's "Negociations" in Tytler's *Proofs and Illustrations*, vol. iv. No. 7.

¹ Tytler, iv. ch. iii.

² Tytler, iv. *Proofs and Illustrations*, x.

³ Tytler, iv. ch. iii.

⁴ *Ibid.* from Letter in State-paper Office, addressed to Walsingham, June, 1582-3.

seized the king and government.⁵ As a reward for this and for betraying the secrets of Queen Mary, he was set free by Elizabeth and sent with a letter to King James, who received him at a private interview, and after a mock trial and acquittal restored him to his rank and estates and took him into the highest confidence.⁶ This friendship of the king Douglas proceeded to exploit in order to bring about the ruin and death of Queen Mary.⁷ James appointed him his ambassador to the English court, and in this position he played fast and loose with the interests entrusted to him.⁸

Tytler sums up his character in a few words. He "united the manners of a polished courtier to the knowledge of a scholar and a statesman." But, while "externally all was polish and amity, truly and at heart the man was a sanguinary, fierce, crafty, and unscrupulous villain."⁹

Naturally Glasgow itself derived little benefit from the ministrations of Archibald Douglas. In 1571, as already mentioned, he sold the manse of the parsonage to Captain Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill.¹⁰ On 1st May, 1573, he feued to David Rollok of Kinclayde and his spouse 13 acres of land, comprising the Parson's Croft, near the Stable-Green, the Parson's Haugh near Stobcross, and some ground near the Broomielaw.¹ And on 1st November, 1576, he renewed for 19 years the tack granted by Queen Mary in 1565 to William Baillie, Lord Provan, of the teind sheaves of the lands of Provan at the old rental of £88 18s. Scots.² On the application

⁵ MS. Letters, Master of Gray to Douglas, August 14, and to Walsingham, Nov. 6, 1585, quoted by Tytler, iv. ch. iv.

⁶ Tytler, *ibid.*

⁷ Robertson's *Hist. of Scotland*, Appendix Nos. xlix and l; Lodge's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 295.

⁸ Tytler, iv. ch. v.

⁹ Tytler, iv. ch. iv.

¹⁰ *Supra*, p. 33; *Great Seal Register*, iii. p. 540.

¹ *Great Seal Register*, iv. No. 2954.

² *Great Seal Register*, v. No. 232; *Act. Parl.* iii. p. 242.

of David Wemyss, the acting minister of the city in 1572, Douglas was ordered to pay him and his successors a stipend of £22 Scots yearly.³ On 1st June, 1586, after his return from England, he leased the teinds of the parsonage to Walter Stewart, the prior of Blantyre, for a yearly payment of 300 merks (£16 13s. 4d.) to himself, and 800 merks (£44 8s. 10½d.) to the two ministers of Glasgow. On 13th March, 1593, he was deposed for non-residence and neglect of duty, but retained the emoluments till 4th July, 1597,⁴ and on 8th November of that year his demission was intimated to the presbytery.

It need only be added that this strange Parson of Glasgow, whose career is worthy of more attention than has hitherto been accorded it, was married to Lady Jane Hepburn, widow of John, Master of Caithness.

Archibald Douglas, it will be seen, was totally unfit to perform any part of the spiritual duties of his office as Parson. These were attended to by a member of the Reformed Church. David Wemyss was appointed minister of Glasgow in or about the year 1562. The population of the city at that time has been estimated at 4500, and of this for a time Wemyss was in sole charge. The support of the ministry in the city was provided for by Queen Mary's charter under the Great Seal of 16th March, 1566-7, in which she conveyed to the provost and city of Glasgow the possessions of the chaplainries, altarages, and prebends, and of the Black and Gray Friars of Glasgow for the support of the ministers, churches, and hospitality of the city.⁵ As the existing Roman clergy were not to be deprived of their benefices it is unlikely that this charter brought any great immediate revenue to the civic authorities. Accordingly, two months later the Privy Council ordained that the magistrates of Glasgow should pay the minister resident in the burgh the sum of £80 Scots (£6 13s. 4d.), for which they were

³ *Privy Council Register*, ii. 114, 115.

⁴ *Fasti Ecclesiæ*, iii. p. 3.

⁵ *Charters and Documents*, part ii. p. 131, No. 59.

to tax all the inhabitants according to their ability.⁶ Again, on 5th June, 1568, three weeks after the battle of Langside, a precept under the Privy Seal authorized the magistrates to uplift the thirds of the revenues of the prebends, altarages, etc., and apply these to the support of the ministry.⁷ In 1569, when Sir John Stewart of Minto, then in charge of the castle of Glasgow, found it necessary to make use of the third of the revenues of the bishopric for the maintenance of the stronghold, he did so with the consent of Wemyss.⁸ In 1571, however, the minister found it necessary to bring the state of his affairs before the Commissioners of the kirk. Stating that he had served as minister for ten years, "in some trouble and without certainty of his stipend," he asked that it should be determined whether he should be paid out of the fruits of the parsonage collected by Archibald Douglas, or from some other source. It was then ordained that Douglas should pay him and his successors £200 (£16 13s. 4d. stg.) of yearly stipend in name of the third of the parsonage benefice.⁹

At the same time a convention of the clergy at Leith considered an abuse that had crept in, of appointing unordained individuals to the higher dignities of the church, by virtue of which they enjoyed a seat in parliament. With consent of the Privy Council it was then declared that this proceeding must cease, and that meanwhile, in matters spiritual, including the election of the archbishop, only such holders of the offices as were ordained ministers should act. Meanwhile four ministers were named to act as chief officers of the chapter, and to succeed to these offices at the death of the existing holders. Of these four ministers Wemyss was appointed to act as chancellor.¹⁰ Wemyss appears to have been a shrewd man of

⁶ *Privy Council Reg.* i. 508-9.

⁷ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. p. 137.

⁸ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* ii. 347.

⁹ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* ii. 114.

¹⁰ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* ii. 168; Calderwood, iii. 168, 219; Spottiswoode, ii. 170.

business, and had the terms of his relationship with the town council set forth in a written contract.¹

Wodrow in his life of Wemyss states on the authority of Calderwood that the bailies and council in the beginning of July, 1584, took Wemyss out of the cathedral pulpit in order to place the excommunicated archbishop, Robert Montgomerie, in possession ;² but this seems merely a repetition of the previous episode in which Mr. John Howieson was the minister ejected.³

A more threatening experience sustained by Wemyss is recorded in the Presbytery records of 25th August, 1587. The minister was attacked in the public street by William Cunningham and his son, Umphra, each armed with whinger and pistol. Wemyss, however, stoutly defended himself, drawing his own whinger, and, assisted by Andrew Hay, the parson of Renfrew, who happened just then to come down the Rottenrow with a whittle in his hand, put his assailants to flight.⁴

Down to 1587 a single minister sufficed for the needs of the whole burghal and landward parish of Glasgow. On 28th February, 1587-8, however, the kirk session records declare that "Mr. Johne Couper is gladlie and willinglie acceptit and admittit as minister secund in Glasgow." They were to take the Sunday forenoon and afternoon services in the "Hie Kirk" alternately, and during the week the first pastor was to exercise on Wednesday and the second on Friday. In the previous year Archibald Douglas had leased the teinds of his parsonage to Lord Blantyre for a yearly payment of 300 merks (£16 13s. 4d.) to himself, and 800 merks (£44 8s. 10½d. sterling) to two ministers. This was now apportioned by the provost, bailies and presbytery, 500 merks to David Wemyss and 300 merks to John Couper.

¹ *Treasurer's Accounts*, 30th June, 1573.

² *Collections, Mailland Miscellany*, ii. pt. ii. pp. 4, 5. ³ *Supra*, p. 56.

⁴ Wodrow's *Collections*, ii. app. iii. ; *Regality Club*, 3rd Series, pp. 53, 54.

It was not long after this till Glasgow had a third minister. The collegiate church of St. Mary and St. Anne, with its cemetery in the Trongate, having fallen into a ruinous state, had been feued in 1570 by the magistrates and council to James Fleming and his heirs for an annual payment of £5 6s. 8d. Scots.⁵ About 1592, however, the town reacquired the property and had it repaired. The next thing to do was to find the means of supporting a minister. The old revenues of the church, which had been conveyed to the magistrates of the city by Queen Mary's Act of 1566-7, had been used to furnish certain bursaries for poor scholars at the college. These bursaries, it was now alleged, had been improperly applied to the support of the richest men's sons. An Act of Parliament was therefore obtained on 8th June, 1594, cancelling the bursaries and devoting the revenues "to the sustentation of the ministrie within the citie of Glasgow."⁶ John Bell, minister of Cardross and one of the regents of the University, was then appointed to the charge of the restored church, which became known as the Tron or New Kirk. In 1599 the ministers applied to the Town Council desiring that the town be divided into two separate parishes in order that each minister might know his own flock. To this, after due consideration, the city fathers consented, on the stipulation that the citizens should not be burdened with the building of more kirks or the support of more ministers than already existed.⁷ Thus the Tron was separated from the High Kirk. The town's records for the period are wanting, but the accounts for 1607-8 show the revenue collected and paid over to Bell in that year as £250 Scots. Additions were afterwards made to the church, and the steeple, still existing, was built in 1637.⁸ The church was burned and rebuilt in 1793.

⁵ *Charters and Documents*, i. 140, No. lxi.

⁶ *Charters*, i. pt. ii. page 242, No. 81; *Act. Parl.* iv. 73.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, T 195-6.

⁸ McUre, p. 59.

Still another charge was set up almost immediately afterwards. On 10th April, 1595, the kirk session records mention that the synod and presbytery had ordained the landward part of the parish of Glasgow to have a kirk and minister of its own.⁹ On 19th July Patrick Sharp, principal of the college, with David Wemyss, John Couper, and John Bell, ministers, presented to the town council "maister Alexander Rowatt, to be admitted and appoyntit the ferd minister of the towne and parrochun." The council not only admitted Rowatt, but allowed him £20 yearly for house rent.¹⁰ Next, on 1st February, 1596-7, it was announced that the parishioners without the town should form a congregation by themselves with Rowatt as their minister.¹ Thus, without any formal disjunction, the Barony parish was constituted. Its place of worship was the lower church in the cathedral. The arrangement was a revival of pre-Reformation usage, by which there was a vicar *in burgo* and a vicar *in rure*.² There is no record as to the source of Rowatt's stipend, but it is almost certain to have been paid out of the teinds.³

In 1593 Archibald Douglas was deposed from the parsonage on account of non-residence and neglect of duty, and in 1597 he ceased to draw the emoluments. On 15th December of that year parliament declared it lawful for the king to appoint bishops, abbots, and other prelates,⁴ all new appointments to be confined to qualified ministers and preachers, and in March, 1598, the Act was adopted by the General Assembly. This was followed on 29th June by an Act restoring Archbishop Beaton to his honours, dignities, and benefices, to enable him to sustain his position as Scottish ambassador in France.⁵

⁹ Wodrow's *Collections*, ii. 7.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, i. 169.

¹ *Maitland Club Miscellany*, i. 70, 86.

² *Glasgow Protocols*, No. 1318, pp. 117, 119, 122.

³ *Early Glasgow*, 255; *Charters and Documents*, i. 179, note.

⁴ *Act. Parl.* iv. 130.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 169.

Another Act in November, 1600, confirmed this restitution, but excepted the feus which had been given off, the deductions for ministers' stipends, the rents, etc., assigned to the college, the possession of the castle, the choosing of the magistrates, and the offices of provost and bailie.⁶ Two days later the king, by a charter under the Great seal, conveyed to the Duke of Lennox and his heirs the castle of Glasgow and the heritable bailieship of the archbishopric.⁷ The duke had already been made superior of the possessions of the diocese,⁸ and had been promised the erection of the archbishopric into a temporal lordship in his favour on the death of Beaton.⁹ All that remained to be restored to the old archbishop at his restitution was but a shadow of his once great possessions and power in Scotland. On 1st December, 1601, the king presented Wemyss to the parsonage and vicarage, with the manse, glebe, teind sheaves, and other properties, which included, of course, the balance of tack duty, 300 merks (£16 13s. 4d. sterling), payable to Lord Blantyre.

Great changes were now taking place in the kingdom. On 24th March, 1603, Queen Elizabeth died, and on 5th April, King James set out from Edinburgh to assume the English crown. Two days later he granted a charter, feuing to the Duke of Lennox the lands and barony, the castle, city, burgh, and regality of Glasgow, the lands and tenements of the burgh and certain other lands, constituting him and his heirs superiors, and erecting these possessions into a temporal Lordship of Glasgow, to be held of the crown for an annual payment of £304 8s. 4d., 36 chalders 4 bolls of meal, 31 chalders 5 bolls of barley, 13 chalders 4 bolls of oats, 49 dozen capons, 31 dozen poultry and 14 dozen kane salmon, with all other duties specified in the annual rental of the bishopric, and twenty

⁶ *Act. Parl.* iv. 256.

⁷ *Great Seal Reg.* 1593-1608, p. 379.

⁸ *Act. Parl.* iv. 146.

⁹ *The Lennox*, by W. Fraser, ii. 343.

merks further of augmentation.¹⁰ This was probably the whole revenue of the archbishopric at that time, out of which the stipulated thirds and other payments had to be made.

Further on his journey, at Burleigh House, near Stamford, news reached the king that Beaton had died at Paris on 25th April. He thereupon designated John Spottiswood, minister of Calder, in Midlothian, who was in attendance upon him, to be archbishop, and sent him back to escort the queen to England.¹

The career of Spottiswood, who was to play an important part in the affairs of the reign of James and his son Charles I. will be referred to later. Meanwhile it is enough to say that there appears to have been some transferring to him of the revenues of the archbishopric then vested in the crown. To help him, a pension of £80 English money was granted by the king, and, probably with the same object, David Wemyss in 1605 demitted his benefice as parson of Glasgow. The king, at any rate, immediately granted the emoluments of the parsonage to the archbishop,² and confirmed the grant three years later by a charter under the Great Seal,³ and the archbishop granted a lease of them to the Master of Blantyre for 300 merks a year, the Master to keep the kirks in repair, and the archbishop to pay the ministers' stipends and the cost of bread and wine for the communion.⁴

Among the stipends the archbishop appears to have paid Wemyss a retiring allowance of twelve chalders yearly.⁵

Wemyss had then been some forty-four years minister of Glasgow, and the respect in which he was held may be judged

¹⁰ *Great Seal Reg.* 1593-1608, p. 531.

¹ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* vi. 568; Spottiswoode, i. 139.

² *Charters*, i. Append. p. 53.

³ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* vi. 2084; *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. i. App. 61.

⁴ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. i. Abstract, p. 62.

⁵ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. i. Abstract, p. 74.

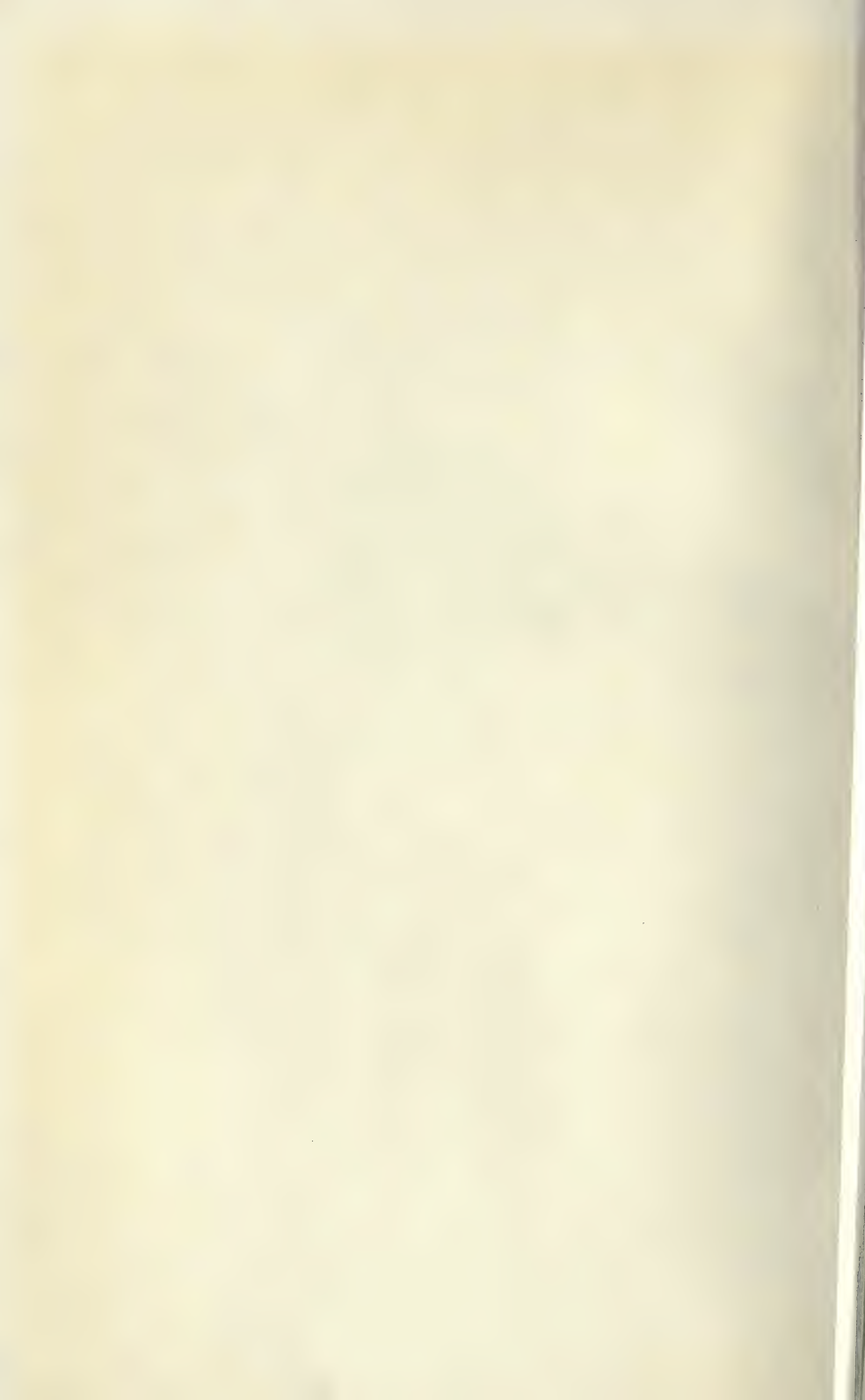
from the fact that, when the famous Letter of Guildry was drawn up in 1605, defining the respective powers and relations of the Merchants' House and the Trades House, he was appointed an oversman or referee along with Sir George Elphinstone and other trustworthy persons.⁶ In his last days certain accusations were brought against Wemyss before the presbytery. It was declared that he was "found to be declynand in doctrine, negligent in preparacioun, and in his teaching hes gevin occasioun of lauchtir, and aftymes to be overtaine with drink."⁷ But the old minister had borne the burden and heat of strenuous times, he could not remain vigorous for ever, he may have needed the comfort of a little *aqua vitæ*, and—his stipend was only 500 merks, equal to £27 15s. 6d. Altogether the first minister of Glasgow appears to have been of a kindly, capable, and sufficiently shrewd character, without the narrowness and bitter bigotry which marked too many of the early ministers of the Reformed Kirk.

⁶ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. i. 620.

⁷ *Presbytery Records*, 29th October, 1600.



THE SEAL OF JAMES BALFOUR, DEAN OF GLASGOW,
AND VICAR-GENERAL OF JAMES, ARCHBISHOP OF
GLASGOW, USED IN 1566.



CHAPTER X

THE CHURCHES OF GLASGOW

MENTION has been made, in the previous chapter, of the Cathedral or High Kirk, the Tron Kirk, previously the collegiate church of St. Mary and St. Anne, and the Barony charge, or congregation of the rural part of the parish of Glasgow, which worshipped in the lower church of the cathedral.

Of various chapels which existed in Glasgow previous to the Reformation the service then appears to have come to an end. Little St. Mungo's chapel and burying ground at the Dow Hill on the north side of the Gallowgate, just outside the city gate, and beyond the Molendinar, near St. Mungo's trees and well, founded by David Cunningham, archdeacon of Argyll in 1500,¹ seem to have been sold by the magistrates, its new owners, when its endowments were transferred to the University. It was bought back by the city for 200 merks (£13 6s. 8d.) on 10th May, 1593, from Donald Cunningham of Aikenbar and his wife, to be converted into a hospital for the poor.² The conversion seems never to have been carried out, and on 2nd February, 1600, the council ordered all the stone, timber, and growing trees of the kirk to be taken down and used for the repair of the Tron Kirk.³ In the following year it was resolved to enclose the kirkyard with a wall and maintain it as a burying place;⁴ and in 1754 the ground was sold to Robert Tennant for the building of the Saracen's Head Inn.

¹ *Reg. Epis. Glasg.* 501.

² *Glasgow Records*, iv. 679-80.

³ *Glasgow Records*, i. 202.

⁴ *Glasgow Records*, i. 225.

The chapel of St. Roche the Confessor, founded in 1508, by Thomas Muirhead, rector of Stobo, and one of the cathedral canons, on the common muir north of Glasgow, was from the first under the patronage of the provost and magistrates.⁵ With its burying ground it was conveyed to Adam Walles and his wife in 1569, the right of burial being reserved.⁶ Its revenues were transferred to the University in 1572.⁷ The name of the chapel is now perpetuated as that of the district, St. Rollox.

In connection with the hospital of St. Nicholas, founded about 1470 by Bishop Andrew Muirhead, near the castle, on ground now occupied by Macleod Street and the Barony church, there was a Gothic chapel, familiar in old prints of the city.⁸ It was a small building, and was probably used only by a few aged and poor persons who lived in the hospital. Till the abolition of episcopacy the hospital was managed by the archbishop; in 1688 it passed to the Lords of the Treasury, who managed it through a preceptor, and in 1716 they devolved the duty on the magistrates of Glasgow, who still distribute the revenue of about £50 among certain poor persons.⁹ The chapel itself was standing as late as the year 1780.

The church of the old monastery of the Blackfriars on the east side of High Street passed into the possession of the University by the charter of the provost and magistrates of 8th January, 1572-3, the principal being bound to read and expound the scriptures every day in the pulpit, while the regents read prayers in their turn, and the "poor" students rang the kirk bell, in order that the students and the townsfolk might assemble to the service.¹⁰ In 1635, the kirk having become ruinous, it

⁵ *Glasgow Charters*, No. 42.

⁶ *Glasgow Protocols*, 1674, 3516.

⁷ *Charters and Documents*, pt. ii. p. 149.

⁸ Marwick's *Early Glasgow*, p. 272.

⁹ *Charters and Documents*, i. 46.

¹⁰ *Charters and Documents*, pt. ii. 149.

was transferred to the magistrates, who undertook to repair it, to pay the college 2000 merks, and to endow a minister for it with a stipend of 1000 merks (£55 11s. 1d. Stg.).¹ The arrangement, confirmed by the king, was that the town council should elect a minister and present him to the archbishop for appointment.² In 1666 during a violent storm the church was destroyed by fire. Rebuilt in 1699, it continued in use till the removal of the College to Gilmorehill in 1870, when it was removed to its present site in Westercraigs, in the Dennistoun district of the city.

West of the city on the pleasant haugh by the river stood the chapel dedicated to St. Theneu, mother of St. Mungo. From it the road leading westward from the market cross took the name of St. Theneu's Gait, and the stream which still flows under Mitchell Street to the river was known as St. Theneu's Burn. The name of the road, after the establishment of the official weighing place, took the name of Trongate, and the stream had its name corrupted into St. Enoch's Burn. With the transfer of its revenues to the University, St. Theneu's chapel appears to have been left to go to ruin. The actual property seems to have been disposed of to a lay owner. On 15th May, 1593, William Fleming, merchant, was asked by the presbytery whether he intended to cultivate the kirkyards of St. Theneu and St. Roche or to build on them, and he replied that he meant to leave them in their existing use.³

In St. Theneu's Gait, and not far from St. Theneu's chapel, was still another place of worship, dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, murdered in 1170. As early as 1320 Walter Fitz-Gilbert, founder of the house of Hamilton, bequeathed certain

¹ *Charters and Documents*, pt ii. 356, 359.

² *Reg. Mag. Sigilli*, lv. 210; *Charters and Documents*, part ii. 364.

³ *Presbytery Records*, *Maitland Club Miscellany*, i. 61; *Glasgow Protocols*, 35, 16.

vestments to the cathedral, on condition that they might be available twice a year for the use of this chapel.⁴ The chapel was in existence in 1505.⁵

It will thus be seen that for a place of which the population at the Reformation is estimated to have been not more than 4500, Glasgow was well supplied with churches and chapels.

⁴ *Reg. Epis. Glasgow*, p. 227, 228.

⁵ *Lit. Coll. N.D., Glasg.* 258.

CHAPTER XI

THE UNIVERSITY

THOUGH the University of Glasgow had been founded with great acclaim in 1451, its fortunes during the first hundred years of its existence do not appear to have been too prosperous. John Major or Mair, who was its principal Regent from 1518 to 1523, described it in his *History*, published in 1521, as "poorly endowed and not rich in scholars." By each of the successive sovereigns, from James II. to Mary, it, with its regents and students, was specially exempted from taxation.¹ In 1563, in the letter under Queen Mary's privy seal, it is described as "rather the decay of a university than an established foundation," its schools and chambers being only partly built, and the provision for its poor bursars and teachers having ceased.² The young Queen of Scots was, in fact, the first to give the struggling seat of learning in the west a helping hand. By the letter just referred to, the enlightened young ruler founded bursaries for five poor scholars and granted the convent and kirk of the Blackfriars to the college, with thirteen acres of land, forty merks of annual rent from various properties, and ten bolls of meal. At the same time she intimated her intention to provide further for the establishment in order that the liberal sciences might be taught there as freely as in other colleges of the realm. Her desire was that the bursaries should be called "bursaries of owre foundatione," and she hoped so

¹ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. p. 118, No. 50.

² *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. p. 129, No. 58.

to benefit the college that it "sal be reputit our foundatioun in all tyme cuming." But the times which followed were in the hands of the queen's enemies and detractors. The men who benefited most by her gifts in Glasgow would have been the very last to acknowledge that Mary Stewart could do any good thing. And for the history of that period succeeding generations have trusted most to the pens of her most bitter and ungenerous enemies, John Knox and George Buchanan. One may look in vain through the *Calendar* of Glasgow University to-day for any sign of Queen Mary bursaries and other benefactions.

With an enlightened zeal for which it has not always received credit the Town Council next came to the help of the struggling University. In January, 1572-3, it conveyed to the college all the lands and church property granted to the city by Queen Mary in 1566-7. In their charter the Town Council laid down the constitution of the College. After setting forth that, for lack of funds, the "Pedagoguy" had wellnigh gone to ruin, and that, through excessive poverty, the pursuit of learning had become utterly extinct, the magistrates declared that "with the constant and oft-repeated exhortation, persuasion, advice, and help of a much honoured man, Master Andrew Hay, rector of Renfrew and vice-president and rector of our University of Glasgow," they "endowed, founded and erected the said college." This was to consist of a Professor of Theology, who should be president or principal, with the regents, who should teach Dialectics, Physics, Ethics, Politics—"the whole of Philosophy"—and twelve poor students. The endowment was for the "support and daily provision of these fifteen persons and their common servants." The appointment of the Principal was to be for life or fault, but, at the will of the Principal, the Rector, and the Dean of Faculty, the regents might be removed every sixth year, "that is, when they have conducted two classes completely through the curriculum ;

especially if they begin to weary of their work, and do not apply themselves with sufficient diligence to their duty." The twelve other poor persons were to be "duly provided, maintained in meat and drink, College rooms and bedrooms, and other easements, for the space of three and a half years only, a time we deem sufficient for obtaining the master's degree in the faculty of arts, according to the statutes of that faculty." The Principal was to employ himself every day of the week in reading and expounding the scriptures in the College pulpit, and for remuneration was endowed with the vicarage of Colmonell with forty merks, as well as twenty merks from the College funds, while the stipend of each of the regents was to be "twenty pounds of good money." The Principal was prohibited from residing anywhere except within the College, and the regents were forbidden to "entangle themselves" in any other business except that of their office. The scholars were to live in community, eat together, and sleep within the College, and week about they were to perform the duties of janitor, read the Bible in the public hall, and give a short discourse after supper on the Saturday. The College doors were to be locked from 8 p.m. till 5 a.m. in winter and from 10 p.m. till 4 a.m. in summer. All who lived in the College and their servants were to be free from ordinary jurisdiction, and from all tolls and exactions. Twice a year the College was to be visited and its accounts were to be audited. Finally, no one was to be admitted as a student unless he made beforehand a pure and sincere confession of faith and religion.

The twelve students thus provided for by the municipality were not, of course, the only students at the College. The city's deed of gift refers to "the twelve poor scholars and the two regents and all students that prosecute their studies in the College"; but all were to be equally bound by the rules laid down.³

³ *Charters and Documents*, pt. ii. p. 149; *Act. Parl.* iii. 487, v. 88; *Stat. Acc.* xxi. App. 20.

On 26th January, 1572-3, this charter was ratified by the Regent Morton.

Notwithstanding the city's generous gift, however, the College appears still to have been but poorly provided for, and five years later, when James VI. was ten years of age, the Regent Morton granted to it the rectory and vicarage of the parish of Govan upon terms which amounted to a new erection and foundation of the University. Under this new foundation the Principal, to be appointed by the king, was to be well versed in Holy Writ, and to act as Professor of Hebrew and Syriac. On alternate days he was to lecture on these languages and on Theology, and on Sundays was to preach to the people of Govan. If he were absent for three nights from the College his place was to be considered vacant. His salary was to be two hundred merks as Principal and three chalders of corn as minister of Govan. Of the three regents the first was to be Professor of Rhetoric and Greek, the second of Dialects and Logic, with the elements of Arithmetic and Geometry. Each of these two was to have a salary of fifty merks. The third regent was to teach Physiology and the observation of Nature, with Geography and Astronomy. In the absence of the Principal he was to take his place, and his stipend was to be "fifty pounds of our money yearly." The appointment and dismissal of the regents was entrusted to the Principal, who himself in turn might be dismissed if necessary by the Chancellor, Rector, and Dean of Faculty. The charter also provided for the maintenance of four poor students or bursars, who must be "gifted with excellent parts and knowledge in the faculty of grammar." These were to be nominated by the Earl of Morton and his heirs, and admitted by the Principal, who was to see to it that "rich men were not admitted instead of poor, nor drones feed upon the hive."

There was to be a "steward or provisor," who was to collect the rents and purvey the victuals, his accounts to be



ANDREW MELVILLE.



entered in a book and submitted daily to the Principal. His salary was to be twenty pounds and his expenses, besides his keep in the College. The Principal's servant and cook and a porter were also provided for, the two last to have six merks apiece and their food.

Everyone admitted to the College was to make profession of his faith once a year, for the "discomfiting of the enemy of mankind," and the community was to enjoy all immunities and privileges granted at any time to other universities in the kingdom.

The wisdom of this new constitution, with its checks and counterchecks, is believed to have been owed to Andrew Hay, the Rector of that time. If the new erection discarded the pre-Reformation idea of a University, and substituted for it, as Cosmo Innes says, "a composite school, half University, half Faculty of Arts,"⁴ it had the inspiring support of a new and fervid faith, and the advantage of a man of ripe and varied scholarship in the Principal who was to give it a start. John Davidson had been principal regent from 1556 till 1572, and had been succeeded by Peter Blackburn for two years. But in 1574 the redoubtable and learned Andrew Melville had been appointed Principal. Though a stern and uncompromising insister upon every jot and tittle of the new form of church government, he was "accomplished in all the learning of the age, and far in advance of the scholars of Scotland."⁵

Born in 1545, Melville had received his early education at Montrose grammar school under Pierre de Marsiliers, and at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, and had proceeded to Paris, where he studied Greek, oriental languages, mathematics, and law, and came under the influence of Peter Ramus. He had helped to defend Poitiers during the siege in 1568, and in the same year—the year of the Battle of Langside—had been

⁴ *Charters and Documents*, pt. ii. p. 168.

⁵ Cosmo Innes, *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, p. 225.

appointed Professor of Humanity at Geneva. Among those whom he met were Beza, Joseph Scaliger, and Francis Hotto-
 man. Returning to Scotland in 1573, he was almost at once
 singled out by his qualifications for the office of Principal at
 Glasgow University, and entered upon his duties in the following
 year. The astonishing range of his teaching may be gathered
 from the narrative of his nephew, James Melville, who accom-
 panied him to Glasgow, and was himself afterwards a professor
 at St. Andrews and a moderator of the General Assembly.
 "Sa," proceeds this recorder, "falling to wark with a few
 number of capable heirars, sic as might be instructars of
 vthers theretu, he teatched them the Greik grammer, the
 Dialectic of Ramus, the Rhetoric of Taleus, with the practise
 therof in Greik and Latin authors, namlie, Homer, Hesiod,
 Phocilides, Theognides, Pythagoras, Isocrates, Pindarus, Virgill,
 Horace, Theocritus, etc. From that he enterit to the Mathe-
 matiks, and teatched the Elements of Euclid, the Arithmetic
 and Geometrie of Ramus, the Geographic of Dionysius, the
 Tables of Honter, the Astrologic of Aratus. From that to the
 Morall Philosophic; he teatched the Ethiks of Aristotle, the
 Offices of Cicero, Aristotle de Virtutibus, Cicero's Paradoxes
 and Tusculanes, Aristotle's Polytics, and certain of Platoes
 Dialoges. From that to the Naturall Philosophic; he teatched
 the buiks of the Physics, De Ortu, De Caelo, etc., also of Plato
 and Fernelius. With this he ioynid the Historic, with the twa
 lights thereof, Chronologic and Chirographic, out of Sleidan,
 Menarthes, and Melancthon. And all this, by and attoure his
 awin ordinar profession, the holie tonges and Theologic. He
 teatchit the Hebrew grammar, first schortlie, and syne more
 accuratlie; therefter the Caldai and Syriac dialects, with the
 practise thereof in the Psalmes and Warks of Solomon, David,
 Ezra, and Epistle to the Galates. He past throw the hail
 Comoun Places of Theologie verie exactlie and accuratlie; also
 throw all the Auld and New Testament. And all this in the

space of six yeirs, during the quhilk he teatchit everie day customablie twyse, Sabothe and vther day; with an ordinar conference with sic as war present efter dennor and supper."⁶

Melville's teaching was certainly universal enough. Within two years it was famous throughout Scotland and even further afield. Numbers who had graduated at St. Andrews came to Glasgow and entered again as students. So full were the classes that the rooms could not contain them. Among the most constant hearers was Mr. Patrick Sharpe, master of the Grammar School, who was wont to declare that he learned more from Andrew Melville's table talk and jesting than from all the books. Altogether, James Melville concludes, "there was na place in Europe comparable to Glasgow for guid letters during these yeirs, for a plentiful and guid chepe mercat of all kynd of langages, artes, and sciences."

In addition to all these labours Melville took a leading part in the organization of the Scottish Church, and assisted in the reconstitution of Aberdeen University in 1575, and the reformation of St. Andrews University in 1579. In 1580 he was transferred to St. Andrews as Principal of St. Mary's College, and there promoted the study of Aristotle and created a taste for Greek literature. There in 1582 he was Moderator of the General Assembly which excommunicated Archbishop Montgomerie. From the time of his leaving Glasgow he was mostly concerned in the political squabbles of the kirk against the court, and for four years, from 1607 till 1611, was for his bitterness imprisoned in the Tower, only to be released at the request of the Duc de Bouillon, who wished to make him professor of theology at Sedan. He died there in 1622.⁷

Glasgow undoubtedly had the benefit of Andrew Melville's best years, and his ability and zeal appear to have set the

⁶ Mr. James Melville's *Diary*, Bannatyne Club, p. 38.

⁷ McCrie's *Life of Andrew Melville*.

reconstituted University on a path of success and prosperity from which it has never turned back.

Some idea of the scholarship which made Glasgow University famous in an age when Greek was not yet a popular study may be learned from the article in Bayle's *Historical Dictionary* on John Cameron, who at the age of twenty left Glasgow for France in 1600. "On admira justement que dans un age si peu avancé il parlât en Grec sur le champ avec la même facilité et avec la même pureté que d'autres en Latin."^{7A}

On attaining his majority in 1587, James VI. ratified and granted anew the various gifts and privileges conferred upon the College of Glasgow during his reign—the rectory and vicarage of Govan, the properties which formerly belonged to friars, chaplainries, and altars within the city, the customs of the tron, and the freedom from taxation.⁸ Thirteen years later, Archbishop James Beaton, who for forty years had been an exile in France, had his "whole heritages and possessions" in Scotland restored to him, as already mentioned, but the Act of Parliament by which this was done expressly excepted "quhatsumevir rentes and dueteis pertening to the College of Glasgow."⁹

To the same period belongs the restoration to the University of its ancient treasure and symbol of authority, the Mace. Presented by the first Rector, Mr. David Cadyou, on the occasion of his re-election in 1460, this fine piece of silver-work appears to have been in some danger from the plundering propensities of the Reformers in 1560, and when Archbishop Beaton made his hurried visit to Glasgow, to rescue the church jewels and documents, it was entrusted to him by the Rector of that year, Mr. James Balfour, Dean of Glasgow. In 1590 the Principal of the University, Mr. Patrick Sharpe, secured

^{7A} Cosmo Innes, *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, p. 228.

⁸ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. No. 75 and No. 79.

⁹ *Ibid.* i. pt. ii. No. 86.

its return, and had it repaired and enlarged. Its original weight was 5 lb. 7½ oz., it now weighs 8 lb. 1 oz.¹⁰ The arms it bears are those of Bishop Turnbull, founder of the University; James II., who procured the Papal bull; Lord Hamilton, who gave the first endowment; the Regent Morton, who restored the college in 1577; and the City of Glasgow, within which it has its seat.

Much had been said of the inconvenience and incompleteness of the old college buildings in the High Street—the tenement acquired from Lord Hamilton in 1459, the “place” or manor-house of Sir Thomas Arthurlee secured in 1475, and the manse and “kirk room” of the Blackfriars granted by Queen Mary in 1563, with the “schools and chambers standing half-built,” which excited the benevolence of the brilliant young queen. But it was not till 1632 that a beginning was made with the erection of new buildings, and it was not till 1656 that the main part of these buildings was completed. The eastern or back quadrangle, containing the houses of the professors, still remained unfinished. Immediately to the south of the college buildings the old chapel of the Blackfriars, standing in its graveyard, was recognized as the college chapel. A bird’s-eye view of the buildings, previous to the fire which destroyed the chapel in 1670, appeared in Captain Slezer’s *Theatrum Scotiae*, which was published in 1693. This shows some of the old tenements then still standing on the street front to the south of the new façade, with, between them, a wide passage ascending by steps from the street to the graveyard, and away behind college and kirk the spacious college gardens surrounded by hedges and trees.

These college gardens were not open to the students in general, but only to those who were sons of noblemen, and who were accordingly allowed keys.¹

Many of the students lived in the college buildings, paying

¹⁰ *Munimenta Univ. Glasg.* iii. 523.

¹ *Munimenta*, ii. 421.

no rent for their rooms till the year 1704, when a charge of four shillings to ten shillings per session began to be made.² The occupants apparently furnished their own rooms, and some of the townspeople seem to have made a business of hiring them the furniture. Writing of his residence there in 1743, Jupiter Carlyle says, "I had my lodging this session in a college room which I had furnished for the session at a moderate rent. John Donaldson, a college servant, lighted my fire and made my bed; and a maid from the landlady who furnished the room came once a fortnight with clean linens." ³

In 1594 certain abuses seem to have excited the resentment of the citizens. It was alleged that the rents, chaplainries, and other emoluments of the Blackfriars kirk which had been assigned by the provost and bailies, for the support of poor bursars in the college, were being wrongly applied to the support of sons of the richest men in the town. The provost and bailies took drastic action in the matter, withdrew their gift of these rents and emoluments, and applied the revenues to the support of the ministry within the city. Their action was confirmed by act of parliament.⁴

Twenty years later trouble arose over another source of the University's revenue. In 1581 Archbishop Boyd had mortified to the college the whole customs of the Glasgow tron and market.⁵ In 1614, however, Archbishop Spottiswood, ignoring that transaction, granted the town customs to the provost and burgh for a yearly payment of a hundred merks.⁶ The college authorities replied by feuing and disponsing to the provost and burgh the same customs and duties for the ancient feu-duty of £50, being £16 13s. 4d. less than the hundred merks demanded

² *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, iii. 513.

³ *Autobiography of the Rev. Alex. Carlyle, D.D.*, p. 99.

⁴ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. No. lxxxii.

⁵ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. No. lxxii.

⁶ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. No. xciv.

by the archbishop.⁷ As the town had paid the archbishop a grassum of 4500 merks on his charter the provost and bailies naturally called upon him to set the matter right. He thereupon gave them a bond undertaking to procure a renunciation from the college of its claim under the "pretendit gift" of Archbishop Boyd, or in default of this to repay to them the grassum of 4500 merks.⁸ As sasine was granted to the town six months later by the college authorities on their own charter it would appear that Spottiswood had failed to make good his claim, and that the burgh obtained the customs on the lower terms offered by the college.⁹ Thirteen years later, in 1628, probably with a view to the avoidance of similar contentions in future, the University obtained from Spottiswood's successor, Archbishop Law, a charter confirming the mortification of the tron dues by Archbishop Boyd in 1581.¹⁰

Notwithstanding this and other profits accruing to the town from the goodwill of the University, the city fathers did not hesitate to take exception to the ordinances of the college authorities. The sons of burgesses enjoyed certain privileges and exemptions, mostly, it may be supposed, living and taking their meals at home. Accordingly, on 18th November, 1626, complaint was made that the Principal and regents had made an undue exaction on the town's bursars, "quha are urgit to gif ane silver pund at their entrie."¹

King Charles I., in 1630, granted a charter under the Great Seal, confirming and re-granting to the University all its properties and privileges, under burden of the stipends to the ministers of Govan, Renfrew, Kilbride, Dalziel, and Colmonell, whose revenues had been annexed to the college.² The king

⁷ *Charters and Documents*, i. ii. p. 466.

⁸ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. No. xcvi.

⁹ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. No. xcvi.

¹⁰ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. p. 471.

¹ *Burgh Records*, sub die.

² *Charters and Documents*, No. civ.

also took a personal interest in the affairs of the students and the University. In 1634, with his own hand, he wrote to the archbishop requiring him to see that the members of the college attended service in their gowns in their proper pews in the cathedral.

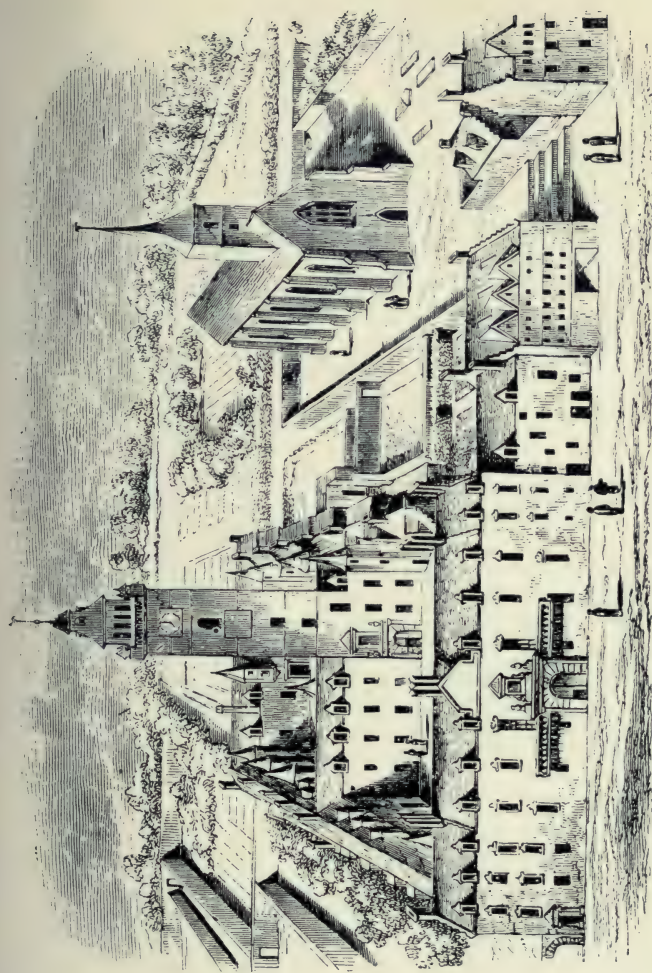
Among other rights claimed by the college authorities was that of exclusive and complete jurisdiction, even in criminal matters, over the students. Delinquents were rebuked, fined, and committed to durance in the college tower for such offences as cutting the gown of another student on the Lord's day, being found by the Principal "with a sword girt about him in the toun," and sending a letter to the Principal "conceived in very insolent terms."³ In 1667 it was decreed that students found breaking the college windows or otherwise damaging the buildings should be "furthwith publickly whipped and extruded the colledge."⁴ And for performing the practical joke of handing in the name of a fellow student to be publicly prayed for in church, an act of uncalled-for solicitude which became rather common for a time, a number of the youths were summoned before the regents and severely reprimanded, while one was expelled.⁵

On one occasion, on 18th August, 1670, the college authorities even proceeded to try a student for murder. The court sat in "the laigh hall of the universitie," with the rector, Sir William Fleming of Farme, as president, and the Dean of Faculty and three regents as assessors. In the indictment made by John Cumming, writer in Glasgow, elected as procurator fiscal, and by Andrew Wright, nearest of kin to the deceased, Robert Barton, a student, was charged with the murder of Janet Wright in her own house, "by the shoot off ane gun," and the punishment demanded was death. The accused pleaded not guilty, and thereupon a jury of fifteen was impanelled and the trial proceeded. Before pronouncing their

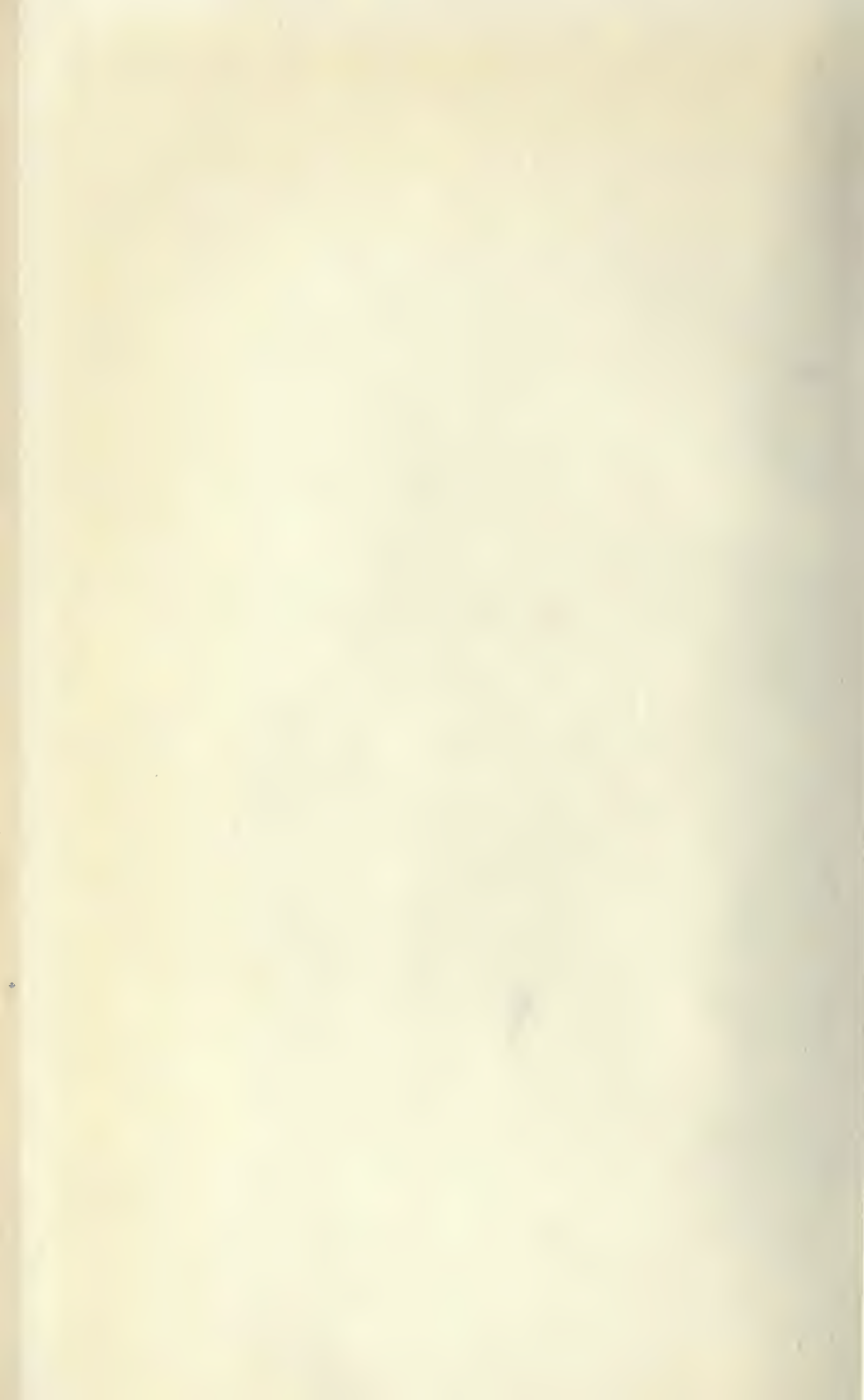
³ *Munimenta*, vol. ii. p. 415.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 340

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 373-379.



THE OLD COLLEGE, AND CHURCH OF THE BLACKFRIARS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.



verdict the jury very wisely demanded that the University should hold them scatheless of any consequences, "in regaird they declaired the caice to be singular, never haveing occurred in the aidge of befor to ther knowledge, and the rights and priviledges of the universitie not being produced to them to cleir ther priviledge for holding of criminall courts, and to sitt and cognosce upon cryms of the lyke natur." The court replied that, having agreed to "pase upon the said inqueist in initio," the jury made this demand too late; nevertheless, "for satisfactioun and ex abundante gratia," the court undertook to hold them free "of all coast, danger, and expenses." Whether or not the jury were completely satisfied with this assurance we are not told, but their verdict was on the safe side—Not Guilty.⁶

Still later, in 1711, when some of the students who had been making trouble in the city were arrested, tried by the magistrates, and compelled to pay a fine, the University authorities demanded the repayment of the fines, declaring that the magistrates, if they refused, would be held liable, "for all expenses and damadges that the said Masters of the University may be putt to in vindicating their right and jurisdiction over any of the scholars committed to their charge."⁷ The upshot is unknown.

Meanwhile the functions of the college and the kirk were gradually being separated. In 1621, by an Act of the Archbishop of Glasgow the Principal of the University was relieved from the ministry of the parish of Govan, the stipend and emoluments of a separate minister were arranged for, and the patronage was vested in the college authorities.⁸

A few years later the Principal was similarly relieved from the necessity of regular ministration in the kirk of the Blackfriars.

⁶ *Munimenta*, ii. 340.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 400.

⁸ *Munimenta*, i. 521, 522; *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. p. 470.

In 1635 the college authorities found the upkeep of the old Blackfriars kirk too much for their resources. It had become ruinous, and a new settlement had to be found. An arrangement was therefore made with the Town Council whereby that body agreed to take over the kirk, with the ground westward from it to the meal market, and a space of eleven ells width on each side of the kirk for enlargement of the building, if necessary. As part of the bargain the Town Council was to pay 2000 merks towards the completion of the college buildings, the college was to have the next best seat in the kirk after the magistrates, and free use of the building at all times for ceremonial purposes, and at the same time four of the "new laigh chambers" in the college were to be assigned to the use of burges's sons while students.⁹ This arrangement was confirmed by the archbishop and the Crown. Thus the old kirk of the Blackfriars finally passed into possession of the city.¹⁰

Another notable windfall which accrued to the college for the completion of its buildings was a sum of £20,000 left in 1653 by the stout old minister of the Barony, Zachary Boyd, who was also dean of faculty, rector, and vice-chancellor of the University. The legacy was burdened with the stipulation that the University should publish all its benefactor's literary works. A number of them, *Zion's Flowers* in poetry and *The Last Battell of the Soul in Death* in prose, have seen the light, but in merciful consideration of Boyd's memory the authorities still delay complete fulfilment of his stipulation. Zachary's bust, however, was piously set up by the college authorities, and the buildings were erected at intervals. About 1690, Principal Fall records, the stone balustrade was put up on the great stair leading to the fore common hall, "with a Lion and a Unicorn upon the first turn." Bust, stair, and balustrade are all still to be seen in the new college at Gilmorehill.

⁹ *Charters and Documents*, No. cvii.

¹⁰ *Charters*, i. pt. ii. cviii, cix.

An excellent idea of the student life, of the more orderly sort, at Glasgow University in the latter half of the seventeenth century is furnished by the extracts from the Register of Josiah Chorley published by Cosmo Innes in his *Sketches of Scotch History*.¹ A large amount of intimate and interesting information of the same period is also to be found in Principal Baillie's *Letters and Journals*. There can be no question of the tremendous effect upon Scottish character in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which must have been produced not only by the learning of Glasgow University, but also by the social influence of its collegiate life. The abandonment of that collegiate life at a later day has ever been a subject of regret to lovers of education as distinct from mere information, and they regard as a happy augury the present-day movement to remedy the defect by the establishment of student hostels and an enlarged union.

¹ Pp. 231-238.

CHAPTER XII

THE SONG SCHOOLS AND GRAMMAR SCHOOL

IN the first volume of this history occasional reference has been made to the early schools of Glasgow. These schools were probably of more importance in the life of the community than the casual mention in the various early records might seem to imply. The Rule of Sarum, or Salisbury, which was adopted as the ritual of the Glasgow bishopric almost from its restoration in the twelfth century, ordained that the chancellor should regulate schools and the precentor provide for the instruction and discipline of the boys serving in the choir.¹ Abundant evidence exists in the early Scottish chartularies of the provision of schools by the clergy throughout the country as early as the twelfth century itself.²

In connection with Glasgow Cathedral there must have existed from the very first a song school for the musical instruction of the boy singers of the choir. Its location was probably at the hall of the vicars choral on the north side of the cathedral, from which Vicars' Alley, the passage between the Royal Infirmary and the graveyard of the cathedral, still takes its name.³ Among other references to this song school there is the deed by which, in 1539, John Panter, "formerly preceptor

¹ *Regist. Epis. Glasg.* i. 270, No. 211.

² *Charters and Documents*, i. 44; Grant's *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland*.

³ "Hall of the Vicars Choral," by Archbishop Eyre, in *The Book of Glasgow Cathedral*.

of the song school of the metropolitan church of Glasgow," settled certain rents of a tenement and yard on the east side of Castle Street on the master of the cathedral song school and others for the performance of anniversary services at certain altars.⁴ Under the various Acts which followed the Reformation, the revenues of the Vicars Choral were transferred to the provost and bailies of Glasgow, the need for training boys in the elaborate Latin services of the cathedral came to an end, and the song school of the metropolitan church ceased to exist. Accordingly, in 1590 John Panter's nephew, Sir Mark Jamieson, life-renter of the tenement above mentioned, went to the Tolbooth and delivered to the provost and bailies the documents of his uncle's gift "in ane litill box, to be keipit in the commoun kist."⁵ The cathedral song school had served its time, and had laid the foundations of a musical taste in Glasgow and its cathedral which has never since died out.

Meanwhile, at a much later date, a second song school had been founded in the city. When the Church of St. Mary of Loretto and her mother St. Anne, now the Tron church, founded by James Houstoun, vicar of Eastwood and sub-dean of the cathedral, in 1525,⁶ grew into a collegiate foundation, the magistrates and council endowed it with sixteen acres of the Gallowmuir and nominated the third prebendary, whose duties were to have charge of the organ and to carry on a song school.⁷ After the Reformation the Trongate church and churchyard were sold by the bailies and council, but it says much for their good taste and enlightenment that they carried on this school as long as they could. In the deed of 1570, conveying the church and churchyard to James Fleming, "the common school called the Song School," standing immediately to the

⁴ *Charters and Documents*, ii. Appendix, No. xxi.

⁵ *Glasgow Burgh Records*, i. 155.

⁶ *Charters and Documents*, ii. pp. 494-7.

⁷ *Lib. Coll.* pp. xv.-xxv.

west of it, is not included.⁸ The Town Council seems to have gone still further, and to have accepted some responsibility for carrying on the school. Towards the support of the teacher, one Thomas Craig, in 1575, the "burgess fines," or entry money of a new freeman, John Cumming, were assigned—a somewhat frequent method of making payments at that time.⁹ A few days earlier the town's accounts show a payment to Thomas Craig, of twenty-three shillings for straw and thatching of the "New Kirk scule."¹⁰ Three years later, in February, 1578, appears a payment of ten pounds "to Thomas Craig for his support in teicheing of the new kirk scule."¹ In June, 1583, again, occur payments—forty shillings "to Mr. William Struthers for to pay the maill (or rent) of ane sang scule," and eight pounds "gewin to Thomas Craig, maister of the Tronegait scule, for his chaplainrie."² In 1588, however, the town council found itself in money difficulties. To meet these it decided on feuing certain of its common lands and other properties, Among these last was "the scuile sumtyme callit the Sang Scuile."³ It does not appear, however, that the school was actually sold, and eleven years later there is a record of a burgess fine being given "to Johne Craig scholemaister for his service done be him."⁴ It seems likely that the school had been removed to new premises, for payments of forty shillings are recorded in 1577 and 1583 for the rent of a chamber "to be ane sang scule."⁵ In 1626 the council made an agreement with James Sanders to give instruction in music to all the children of the burgh who might be put to his school for a salary of ten shillings a quarter to himself and forty pennies to his man, and at the same time forbade all others to teach music in the burgh.⁶

⁸ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. pp. 140-142.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, p. 43. ¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 457. ¹ *Burgh Records*, 465.

² *Burgh Records*, i. 472. ³ *Burgh Records*, i. 125. ⁴ *Burgh Records*, i. 187.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, i. 462, 472.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. 354.

At a salary like that it is evident that the music school master must have had other means of livelihood. In the next entry regarding the Song School, twelve years later, Sanders is mentioned as "reader," so it may be gathered that the pre-Reformation office of the third prebendary of St. Mary's, who was appointed by the magistrates, and whose duties were to have charge of the organ and to carry on a song school, had been perpetuated in a readership in the Tron kirk with the same musical duties attached.

The entry alluded to, on 5th May, 1638, sets forth that the music school within the burgh was altogether decayed, "to the grait discredit of this citie and discontentment of sindrie honest men within the same who hes bairnes whom they wold have instructit in that art." The magistrates accordingly called Sanders before them, and with his consent appointed Duncan Burnet to "take up the said school again." ⁷

Still later, in 1646, the town council engaged John Cant at a salary of £40 per annum for five years to raise the psalms in the High Kirk on the Sabbath and in the Blackfriars at the weekly sermons, "and for keeping ane music school." ⁸

These facts should be enough to show that, whatever may have been the effects of the Reformation in other parts of the country in killing and discrediting love of the fine arts, the art of music at any rate continued to find approval and substantial support from the magistrates and the people of Glasgow.

Equally creditable is the support which appears to have been given from very early times to the maintenance of a grammar school in the burgh. It is true that the first reference to that Grammar School occurs only in 1460, but there is every likelihood that, as enjoined on the chapter of the cathedral by the ritual of Sarum, the school had been set up before the close of the twelfth century. Bishop Jocelyn, the energetic and enlightened prelate who began the building of the present

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 388.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, ii. 96.

cathedral in 1175, and secured from William the Lion the charter of a burgh and a fair for his episcopal city of Glasgow, set his seal, in the year 1180, to the deed confirming the Abbot of Kelso in possession of the churches and schools of Roxburgh, and was not in the least likely to overlook the duty and the advantages of setting up a grammar school in his own new burgh on Clydeside. When the Grammar School of Glasgow is first referred to, in 1460, it was already a long established institution. It is notable that the deed by which Simon Dalgleish, precentor and official of Glasgow, conveyed to Master Alexander Galbraith, rector and master of the school, and his successors, a tenement on the west side of the Meikle Wynd, or High Street, to be held by the master and scholars for certain religious services, declared that the provost, bailies, and councillors of the burgh were to be patrons, governors, and defenders of the gift.⁹ It does not seem likely that this was the first official connection of the town council with the school ; but real authority in appointing and dismissing the master of the school still lay with the chancellor of the cathedral. In its well-known judgment of 1494, the chapter of the bishopric solemnly declared that Master Martin Wan, the chancellor, and his predecessors of the church of Glasgow, had been, without interruption and beyond the memory of man, in peaceable possession of the appointing and removing of the master of the grammar school, and of that school's oversight and government, and further, that it was unlawful, without the chancellor's permission, to keep a grammar school in the town ; and accordingly that " a certain discreet man," Master David Dun, presbyter of the diocese, who had set himself to teach youths grammar and the elements of learning within the city, had no right to do so, and accordingly must be " put down to silence in the premises for ever." ¹⁰

⁹ *Glasgow Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. p. 436.

¹⁰ *Charters and Documents*, i. 89, No. xl.



THE OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOL.



The magistrates nevertheless made certain claims. In 1508, when Mr. Martin Rede, then chancellor, appointed Mr. John Rede to be master, the provost, Sir John Stewart of Minto, and others, protested and claimed for the magistrates the right to admit Mr. John and the other masters of the schools. The matter was decided by reference to the foundation and letters of Mr. Simon Dalglish in 1460.¹

For his stipend the master of the Grammar School seems to have had to look, not to any direct remuneration for the work of teaching, but, after the manner of the church of that time, to the revenues of some other office. In connection with St. Ninian's leper hospital at the south end of Glasgow bridge, William Stewart, a canon of the cathedral, had built a chapel near it at the corner of Rutherglen Loan, and in 1494 he endowed it with certain annual rents and a tenement on the south side of the Briggate. At that time the chaplain was the master of the Grammar School, and from certain provisions it appears to have been intended that the two offices should be held in perpetuity by the same individual.²

Further, on 8th January, 1572-73, when the Provost and town council made over to the University all the kirk livings which had been bestowed on the burgh by Queen Mary in 1566, they specially exempted the chaplainry of All Hallows or All Saints "granted formerly by us to the master of the Grammar School," and ordained that it should remain for ever with him and his successors.³

Stimulated perhaps by the kindly interest of the town council, the attendance at the school appears to have increased, for in 1577 Robert Hutcheson and his wife renounced their right to a house and yard on the west of the school in order that these might provide more accommodation.⁴ At the same

¹ *Diocesan Registers*, i. 427, ii. 267.

² *Reg. Epis. Glasg.* No. 469.

³ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. p. 161.

⁴ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. p. 447.

time the town's master of works was instructed to "mak the grammar scole wattirfast, and at the spring of the yeir to mend the west parte thair of." ⁵ On 16th November the accounts show a payment of 48s. "for XII threif of quheit straye to theik the Grammer Scole," and on 12th May following one of £8 "gevin to James Fleming, maister of work to mend the grammar scole." ⁶

The first actual record of the appointment of a master by the town council occurs in 1582. On 13th November Mr. Patrick Sharp, master of the grammar school, appeared before the council and resigned his office, along with the chaplainry of All Hallows altar and all other rents and duties belonging to it, and the provost and council instantly, with advice of the regents of the University, elected Mr. John Blackburn to the mastership and chaplainry. ⁷

Blackburn proved to be an energetic manager. Money evidently was needed, and he approached the town council with the proposal that the front schoolhouse and yard should be sold. He offered to pay the council a hundred merks and odds if they would allow him to sell the property ; or, alternatively, he offered to accept two hundred merks for his consent that they should dispose of it. In the end they agreed to pay him two hundred and ten merks, and, this being agreed to, they sent round the drum on three several days, as was customary, to advertise the sale, and finally disposed of the property to Bailie Hector Stewart, the highest bidder, for four hundred and seventy merks and an annual payment of five merks. ⁸

Four years later drastic action had to be taken with the schoolhouse itself. First the council appointed a committee to visit and report on the repairs required. ⁹ The committee reported the school to be altogether ruinous. The minute of

⁵ *Burgh Records*, i. 64.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. 465, 466.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 99.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, i. 176, 177, 178.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, i. 208.

23rd August, 1600, contains a fine outburst of generous sentiment: "It is condiscendit be the provest, bailleis, and counsale that thai think na thing mair profitabill, first to the glory of God, nixt the weill of the towne, to have ane Grammer Schole." Then as always, however, Glasgow was prepared to back its sentiments with solid deeds, and the council gave order that "the haill stanes of the rwinus deokayit fallin dovne bak almonshous pertenying to the towne" should be devoted to the rebuilding of the school, and that Blackburn should report every council day on the progress of the work.¹⁰ Money was required for the job, and Blackburn was authorized to pay to the master of works for the purpose four hundred merks, of the legacy left by "Hary the porter" of the college.¹ Other funds were got from the feuing of the common lands, while £800 were raised by means of a tax.²

In the midst of the enterprise Blackburn received a call to the ministry of a kirk in some other part of the country. Reluctant to lose him, "that is and hes bein ane guid and sufficient member in instructing of the barnes of the towne and vther effaires of the kirk thairinto," the council appointed two members to see the presbytery, and promise Blackburn any "benefit" about the town when it should happen to fall vacant, in order that he should be retained as master of the school.³ These persuasive efforts were successful, and four years later we find the council dealing with a certain Robert Brown, gardener, for delay in paying to Blackburn "sax pundis money" for the Martinmas term's rent of the All Hallows chaplainry due from a house and yard he occupied, belonging to "ane noble and potent Lord Hew erll of Egglintoune."⁴ A year later still, in 1606, it became evident that among the "benefits" conferred on the schoolmaster to induce him to remain in the

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, i. 210.

¹ *Burgh Records*, i. 217.

³ *Burgh Records*, i. 226.

² *Burgh Records*, i. 218.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, i. 343.

town must have been a certain number of burgh "fines" or dues. William Balloch, maltman, is made burgh and freeman of the burgh as "one of Master John Blackburn's burgesses granted to him by the provost and bailies of the burgh for his service in the Grammar School."⁵ By and by this source of revenue appears to have been interfered with by an ordinance declaring that burgesses were no longer to be admitted in favour of any person by reason of his office, but only by the dean of guild. Blackburn complained that this meant an annual loss to him of two burgh fines, and requested that the loss be made good by a payment from the burgh treasury. As an equivalent he was granted a yearly sum of forty merks.⁶

In 1611 it was arranged to feu further ground belonging to the Grammar School, and Blackburn, appearing before the council, very adroitly declared that while he believed the whole of the money thus obtained belonged by right to himself, yet he would submit to the will of the city fathers in the matter. After discussion it was decided that "the said maister John" should have half the money, the other half being assigned to the use of the town.⁷

Nothing more is recorded of Master John Blackburn, but the town council continued to take a vital and kindly interest in its Grammar School. In 1624 the accounts show a payment of £80 to "Maister William Wallace, scholmaister."⁸ The school must now have grown beyond the powers of one man, however, for in 1629, with Wallace present, the council deputed two city ministers, the Principal of the University, and four well-known citizens to visit the school and report, and four months later we find other two individuals named as masters of the Grammar School. The council ordered forty merks each to be paid to John Hamilton and James Anderston, in that capacity "for helping the ministers to preach in their absence

⁵ *Burgh Records*, i. 246.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. 310.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 318, 319.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, i. 477.

at divers times.”⁹ A year later the council recorded its approval of the efforts of Wallace, who “hes thir divers yeiris by past, sen his entrie thairto, exercet his office faithfullie and treulie in training of all scholleris putt under his chairge,” and they therefore earnestly requested and desired him to renew his engagement with them.¹⁰ Eight years later still, in 1638, it was ordered that he be paid all the rents due to him out of the “hous of manufactorie” and that the burgh officers help him to collect the rest of the dues belonging to him as master of the Grammar School.¹

At that time the school and the town evidently suffered from a certain looseness in the management of their affairs. In 1639 the attention of the council was drawn to the fact that small rents due to the town and school from a number of houses, barns, and kilns in the city had gone out of use of payment, and that others were likely to follow. It was therefore ordained that such rent and dues should be engrossed by the town clerk in all future sasines.²

After the abolition of episcopacy by the famous General Assembly held in Glasgow Cathedral in 1638, an effort was made to secure a competent allowance out of the revenues of the bishopric for the maintenance of the High Kirk, the Bishop’s Hospital, and the Grammar School.³ For these purposes King Charles I. actually signed a deed by which the teinds of Glasgow, Drymen, Dryfesdale, Cambusnethan, and Traquair were handed over to the town.⁴ This deed was ratified by Act of Parliament, but was rescinded in 1662 after the Restoration of Charles II. and episcopacy.⁵

As a token of the town council’s special interest in the

⁹ *Burgh Records*, i. 370, 372.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, i. 376.

¹ *Burgh Records*, i. 391.

² *Burgh Records*, i. 397.

³ *Burgh Records*, i. 431.

⁴ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. p. 480.

⁵ *Act. Parl. Scot.* vii. 372.

Grammar School, the scholars were in 1648 appointed to sit every Sabbath day in the college seat of the Blackfriars Kirk, which stood nearly opposite the school, on the east side of High Street.⁶

The Grammar School was not, however, the only school in Glasgow. In 1604 the presbytery complained of a plurality of schools, and considered "the school taught by John Buchanan and the Grammar School quite sufficient, and in 1639 the town council ordained that nae mae Inglisch scoolles be keipit or haldin within this brughe heirefter bot four only, with ane wrytting schooll";⁷ and though in 1658 the council directed the bailies to inhibit "the womane that hes tackine vpe an schole in the heid of the Salt Mercatt at hir awin hande,"⁸ two years later an order was made "to tak up the names of all persounes, men or weomen, who keepes Scots Schooles within the toune, and to report"; and three years afterwards no fewer than fourteen persons, eight of them women, were permitted to keep Scots schools, "they and their spouses, if they ony have, keiping and attending the ordinances within the samyne."⁹

Altogether it does not seem that Glasgow was at any time ill supplied with means of education for its rising generations.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, ii. 156.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 397.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 20th Feb.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 20th Oct. 1660 and 14th Nov. 1663.

CHAPTER XIII

MAISTER PETER LOWE AND THE FACULTY OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS

FROM a very early period Glasgow appears to have made public provision for the sick and infirm. From at least the year 1350 it had a hospital for lepers, St. Ninian's Hospital, near the bridge end, on the south side of the river—an institution commemorated to the present day in the names of St. Ninian Street and Hospital Street. There were also other hostels or spitals, mostly almshouses for the poor, as at Polmadie, St. Nicholas' Hospital in Castle Street, founded by Bishop Muirhead in 1471, and the hospital near the Stable-green founded by Dean Blacader in 1524. From the earliest times also, there can be little doubt, the city had the advantage of the presence of practitioners of the arts of medicine and surgery. As in other affairs of learning, the monks carried on the best traditions of these healing arts. So far, indeed, did they progress that at one time there appeared a danger of the cure of the body usurping the place of the cure of the soul, and in 1215 Pope Innocent III. found it desirable to limit their activities by forbidding churchmen to undertake any operation that involved the letting of blood. Unwilling to forego the emoluments of their surgical practice, the monks hit upon the plan of deputing one of their lay brethren or servants to perform operations. Accordingly, the barber came to be the surgeon, and barber-surgeons continued to be the orthodox blood-letters till the early years of the eighteenth century.

These barber-surgeons acquired their skill, not by study at a college or university, but by apprenticeship to a member of the craft. It was in this way that Tobias George Smollett qualified for his profession in the city of Glasgow.

The sister art of medicine in similar fashion came to be practised by more or less unlearned individuals, many of them the merest quacks and charlatans. Many of the cures which they used, down even to the days of the celebrated Cullen, were quite surprising abominations. As late as 1737 the official pharmacopœia contained such remedies as the excrement of horse, pig, goat, and peacock, mummy, snails, and the juice of wood-lice.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, however, steps were taken in Glasgow to put the practice of medicine and surgery upon a more satisfactory footing. The new movement appears to have been due, like most other developments and improvements in human society, not to any wisdom of the community as a whole, but to the character, ability, and genius of a single person. There were already recognized practitioners of surgery and medicine in Glasgow. On 17th May, 1577, Alexander Hay, "chirurgiane," applied to the town council, declaring his desire to remain in the city and serve the people in his art and craft, and for support he was granted ten merks yearly. At the same time he was made a burgess and exempted from taxation, as his former master, James Abernethy, had been.¹ And in 1580 the admission fees of a burgess were given to "Thomas Mylne, chirurgiane, for his curing of Thomas Muir, hurt in the townes besynes."²

¹ *Burgh Records*, i. 58.

² *Burgh Records*, i. 83. Milne was the purchaser, for eleven hundred merks, on 2nd January, 1588-9, of the Milndamhead, Peatbog, and Dassiegreen, when the town's necessities compelled it to dispose of some of its common lands.—(*Ibid.* 126.) On 3rd June of the same year he was charged before the Council with calling some of the bailies deceivers and traitors, and was ordered to make confession at the cross, and forfeit his pension for a year. (*Ibid.* 138.)



MAISTER PETER LOWE.



But the man who first set the practice of medicine and surgery in Glasgow on the path of real progress and reliability was "Maister Peter Lowe." A Scotsman, probably a native of Glasgow or its neighbourhood, and born about the year 1550,³ he declares, in the preface to the second edition of his *Chyrurgerie*, published in 1612, "that he was Doctor in the Faculty of Chirurgerie at Paris, and ordinary surgeon to the French king and queen, that he had practised in France, Flaunders, and elsewhere the space of 22 yeers, thereafter being Chirurgical maior to the Spanish regiments at Paris 2 yeeres, next following the French king, my Master, in the warres 6 yeeres, where I took commoditie to practise all points and operations of Chirurgerie." He appears, in fact, to have been one of the class of wandering Scottish scholars, soldiers, and adventurers, like Michael Scot in the thirteenth century, John Major in the fifteenth, and George Buchanan in his own time, who, finding little opportunity of learning and advancement in their own country, betook themselves to the continent and achieved distinction there. In 1596 he published his work on the "Spanish Sickness" in London, and the preface to his great work, the *Chirurgerie*, is dated "From London the 20th day of Aprill, 1597." He would appear to have come to Glasgow in the spring of 1598, for on 17th March in the following year it was "aggreit of new and contractit betuix the towne and Doctor Low for iiij^{xx} merkis money be yeir," that he should attend the poor of the town.

In the meantime he had come under the censure of the clergy in the city for some trespass on the strict lines of conduct then insisted upon by these inquisitors, and was ordered to do penance "at the pillar" of the kirk. A man familiar with a wider world than these inquisitors had known, he appears not only to have treated the sentence of the spiritual fathers with unbecoming levity, but actually to have forgotten to satisfy

³ *Life and Works*, p. 17.

their "thesaurer" as regards the pecuniary part of his sentence, and accordingly the worthy presbytery had him again before them, and ordered him both to "satisfy the thesaurer" and stand another couple of Sundays "on ye Piller." ⁴

Already, however, Lowe appears to have been taking action to have the practice of medicine and surgery in Glasgow placed upon a footing of greater reliability. It can scarcely be doubted that an entry in the kirk session records of 14th September, 1598, was due to his initiative. According to that record "the Session think it good that the University, Ministers, and Presbitry take cognition who are within the Toun that pretend to skill in medicine; that those who have skill may be reteaned and others rejected." ⁵ The session approached the town council on the subject, and the town council deputed a committee consisting of three bailies, the three ministers of the city, and the principal of the college, with Mr. Blais Lowery and Mr. John Blakburne, master of the Grammar School, to consider as to the examination and trial "of all sic persounes as vsit or sal happin to vse the said arte within the towne in tyme cumyng." ⁶

An examining board thus constituted was not very likely to prove the most satisfactory means of attaining the desired purpose. Lowe appears to have felt very strongly on the subject. In the Latin preface to the first edition of his *Chirurgie*, in 1597, he had told his late colleagues of the College of Surgeons at Paris that in his own country he had not found any such accomplished practitioners as themselves. In the second edition of his work, in 1612, he inserted a dedication to his "very Worshipfull, learned, and well-experimented good friends, Gilbert Primrose, Sergeant Chirurgian to the King's Maiestie; James Harvie, Cheife Chirurgiane to the Queenes Maiestie; those of the Worshippull Companie of Chirurgians

⁴ *Tron Session Records*, iii. 274.

⁵ *Wodrow's Collections*, ii. pt. ii. p. 76.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. 192, 193.

in London and Edenborough, and all such well-experimented men in the Kingdome who are licensed to professe the Divine art of Chirurgerie." At the same time and in the same dedication, he inveighed warmly against all Quack Doctors and such "as do their worke vnskilfully . . . like as cosoners, quack-salvers, charlitans, witches, charmers, and divers other sorts of abusers," . . . who "are permitted to vse charmes, lyes, execrable oaths, mortiferous poyson, fallacious and vncertaine experiments, whereby they destroy both friend and foe, euer detracting the true professors of the Art."

His idea was to eliminate all such charlatans and empirics, and to establish in Glasgow some such college as that of Paris, for the benefit of the West of Scotland. He appealed to King James, and as a result procured a "gift," "privilege," or charter under the Privy Seal dated "Penult November, 1599." By this charter the king "makis, constitutis, and ordinis Maister Peter Low, our Chirurgiane and chief chirurgiane to oure dearest son the Prince, with the assistance of Mr. Robert Hamiltone, professoure of medicine, and their successouris, indwelleris of our Citie of Glasgow," giving them full power to summon before them all persons professing surgery in Glasgow and the West of Scotland, to examine them as to their learning, and, if found worthy, to admit them to the exercise of the art. At the same time severe penalties were imposed on any who should practise without the necessary licence.⁷

This deed, granted at Holyrood, was in fact the charter of foundation of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, under which that Faculty exercises authority at the present hour. Under its provisions, the Visitors, as Lowe and Hamilton were termed, were required to attend every injured, murdered, or poisoned person, and report the cases to the magistrates on the first Monday of every month; they were to prescribe gratis for the sick poor, and they were empowered to make statutes

⁷ *Life and Works*, by Maister Peter Lowe, p. 66. *Burgh Records*, i. 202.

governing the profession, and to pursue and interdict unlicensed practitioners. The charter further regulated the sale of drugs and poisons ; it exempted licentiates from weaponschawings, watching, warding, attending at justice courts, etc., and it obliged all law officers and magistrates to enforce the decisions of the Faculty.⁸

This charter, of whose provisions there can be little doubt Lowe himself was the author, was a piece of legislation as enlightened as any Act of Parliament or by-law of the present day, and in its provision for an inquest and for medical relief of the poor was far in advance of its time. Under this charter the Faculty took rank, as the Incorporation of Physicians and Surgeons, among the incorporations of the Trades House, when that body was constituted under Sir George Elphinstone's Letter of Guildry six years later, and it is the governing charter of the Faculty to the present day.

Curiously enough, Peter Lowe was never himself president of the Faculty, though he appears repeatedly as one of the four "quartermasters." That he was a citizen held in great respect is shown by the fact that he and Hamilton were among the eight representatives of the crafts named in the Letter of Guildry, and the veneration in which his memory was held is shown by the care with which the copy of his work in the library of the Faculty was bound and forbidden to be lent out of the building. His portrait also and his gloves remain among the chief treasures of the Faculty.

Not a great deal is known of the subsequent life of this notable surgeon. In 1601 he accompanied the Duke of Lennox in his embassy to France, the town council, at the special request and desire of the Duke, excusing his absence and continuing the payment of his "pension" or retaining fee.⁹ The amount of this fee was £53 6s. 8d.¹⁰ Another fee paid

⁸ Notarial copy in possession of the Faculty.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, i. 223.

¹⁰ *Memorabilia*, p. 55.

him by the town was one of £40 in 1610, for "bowelling" or embalming the Laird of Houston, who had been provost of the burgh.¹ Some time before 1604 he married Helena, daughter of David Wemyss, the first Presbyterian minister of Glasgow, by whom he had a son John, admitted a member of the Faculty in 1636, though it is doubtful whether he was ever a surgeon at all.² John Lowe was admitted out of respect for his father, and "for the benefit of his children," much as the son of a member of one of the trades' incorporations would be admitted, to give him status as a burgess. John Lowe's son, James, again was admitted in 1677, for the same reason, though he was a lawyer in Edinburgh.

Peter Lowe died either in 1612, the date on his tombstone in the cathedral churchyard, or between that date and 30th June, 1617, when the death is recorded in the index of Paris surgeons. His widow afterwards married Walter Stirling, and one of her descendants founded Stirling's Library in the city.³ In 1834 the Faculty purchased Peter Lowe's tomb, and it remains in their possession.

The first hall of the Faculty stood in Trongate, immediately to the west of the Tron Kirk, till 1791, when it was removed to St. Enoch Square. It now occupies a stately mansion in the higher part of St. Vincent Street.

Though Lowe's collaborator in establishing the Faculty is named "Professor" Robert Hamilton, there does not appear to have been any occupant of such a post in the University of Glasgow till 1637, when Dr. Robert Mayne was transferred from Arts to Medicine there, with a salary of 400 merks Scots (£22). Five years later a Commission of the General Assembly, visiting the city, declared "that a professor of medicine was not necessar in all tyme cumming, but Dr. Mayne may continue during his tyme." In 1646 he died, and no further appoint-

¹ *Burgh Records*, i. 314.

² *Life*, p. 27.

³ *Life*, p. 30.

ment was made till 1714, when the Chair was revived by the University and endowed by Queen Anne. In the meantime surgery was taught in Glasgow by the apprenticeship system, the apprentice paying a fee of £50, being indentured for five years, and finally submitting himself to an examination by the Faculty. Physicians had to produce a certificate from a famous University where medicine was taught. The nearest was London, but most Scottish students went to the continent, to Leyden, Utrecht, Rheims, or Paris.

In 1602 it was "statute and ordained" that barbers, being "a pendicle of Chirurgerie," should be admitted at certain fees; but they were strictly enjoined not to meddle with anything beyond their own province, namely, the dressing of simple wounds, bleeding, tooth-drawing, and the like, these operations being performed under the supervision of a physician or surgeon.⁴

By the charter of 1599 the Faculty had also the supervision of the dispensing of drugs, and along with Lowe and Hamilton appears the name of "William Spang, Apothecary." Spang was again and again paid by the city for medicines supplied to the poor, and his portrait hangs with those of Lowe and Hamilton in the Faculty Hall. In 1614 Gabriel Sydserf, "pothecar," was admitted a member of the Faculty, and for two centuries afterwards the Faculty alone granted licences for the practice of pharmacy.⁵

⁴ Weir's *Origin and Early History of the Faculty*, pp. 22, 23.

⁵ *Origin and Early History*, p. 23.

CHAPTER XIV

SIR GEORGE ELPHINSTONE AND THE LETTER OF GUILDRY

FROM an early period the population of Glasgow must have fallen roughly into two classes, the merchants and the craftsmen. To begin with, the "merchants" were not necessarily traders overseas. Every shopkeeper was a "merchant," just as, to the present hour, the packman is, who sells his wares from farm to farm in Scotland. As early as the year 1209 a statute of William the Lion ordained the merchants of the realm to have their guild, with liberty to ply their business of buying and selling within the bounds of burghs.¹ For some centuries, however, in Glasgow they did not incorporate themselves under a common constitution. By reason of their wealth and ability they exercised much influence, and thus probably did not feel the need of union.²

The industrial class, or craftsmen, were in a different position. By an Act of Parliament of James I. at Perth in 1424 it had been ordained that in each town each craft should choose a deacon or master to govern and assay all the work done by the craft. At first these deacons had no legal powers to enforce their rulings, and had to apply to the magistrates to do this. By and by, however, they obtained powers by appealing to the magistrates, who granted a "Seal of Cause," or "Letter of Deaconry." The first recorded Seal of Cause in Scotland was that granted by the magistrates of Edinburgh to the Cordiners

¹ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. i. p. 211.

² *History of the Hammermen of Glasgow*, p. 6.

of that city in 1449. The earliest in Glasgow was that of the Skinners and Furriers, granted by the magistrates and archbishop in 1516. It was followed by that of the Weavers in 1528 and by that of the Hammermen in 1536.³

These incorporations of the crafts were, in fact, the trades unions of their time, and their history afforded a curious parallel with the history of the trades unions of four centuries later. Their business at first was solely to supervise the work of their crafts and to make sure that no unqualified person invaded their monopoly. Like the trades unions, they set themselves strenuously against free trade in labour, and permitted no outsiders or "blacklegs" within their bounds. Soon, growing in power, they began to seek to exercise jurisdiction in other than purely craft matters, and from the days of James I. to those of Queen Mary a succession of Acts of Parliament directed them to confine their activities to their legitimate business. They were, however, more numerous than the merchants. In 1604 there were in Glasgow 213 merchant burgesses and 363 burgesses of the crafts.⁴ For this reason, among others, the crafts resented the influence exercised and the authority assumed by the merchants. They showed a disposition to resist that influence and seize that authority, and they united in a demand for a share in the magistracy.

In 1584 the trouble came to a head in Edinburgh, and James VI., acting as referee, issued a decree arbitral, setting forth the limits of the separate interests and powers of merchants and craftsmen, and giving the latter definite rights in the election of magistrates, in the management of the burgh patronage and property, and in voting taxes and contributions.

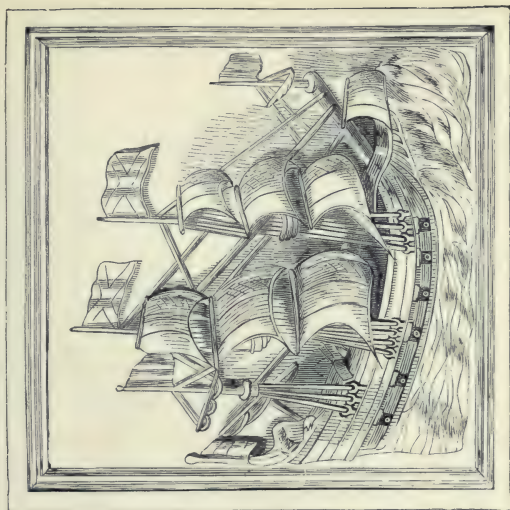
In Glasgow the need for a similar ordinance became constantly more apparent. On 6th July, 1583, the day before the fair, at a weaponschaw of the townsmen, a dispute arose as to

³ *Hist. of Hammermen of Glasgow.*

⁴ *Act Book of the Dean of Guild Court.*



GLASGOW MERCHANTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.



GLASGOW MERCHANTS' EMBLEM.



the ranking and placing of the merchants and craftsmen in their several companies, and the dispute ended in a riot. Next day the deacons of the hammermen, tailors, cordiners, fleshers, baxters, skinners, and weavers were summoned before the magistrates, and required to give surety, each for his own craft, that no trouble should arise during the week of the fair. As the deacons averred they could not give the desired surety the magistrates declared that any person, merchant or craftsman, causing disturbance should be fined £100 Scots and banished from the town, and that everyone should meanwhile lay aside his armour and weapons. On the 16th the matter of the riot came up before the provost and magistrates, and it was agreed that the magistrates should draw up regulations to prevent like outbreaks in future. All the parties agreed to abide by the orders made, but nothing further appears to have been done. The space left in the council's records for the regulations was never filled up.

In 1593 an Act of Parliament recognized the power and jurisdiction of Dean of Guild courts in burghs, "according to the lovable forme of judgement usit in all the guid townis of France and Flanderis, quhair bourses ar erected and constitute, and specialle in Paris, Rowen, Burdeaux, and Rochelle." ⁵ And in 1595 the Convention of Burghs sent a message to Glasgow that the other burghs were offended that the community there did not conform itself to the comely action of other burghs by appointing a Dean of Guild and electing guild brethren. Twice the Convention requested Glasgow to send representatives, two from the merchants and two from the crafts, to Edinburgh, to confer with the commissioners of seven burghs on the subject, but though the city at last did send delegates, no conclusion was arrived at, and in the end the Convention, wearying of Glasgow's unwillingness, resolved to "desert the matter." ⁶

⁵ *Act. Parl.* iv. 30.

⁶ *Convention Records*, i. 469, 479, 495, and ii. 27, 28, 96.

✓ The strife between the merchants and the crafts—the classes and the masses of that time—meanwhile continued, the latter claiming an equal share, both in the government of the city and in the sea-going trade. The merchants resisted this claim on the ground that each man should keep to his own business. Through these disputes arose “terrible heat, strifes, and animosities, which threatened to end in bloodshed, for the craftsmen rose up in arms against the merchants.”⁷

The man who in the end brought the matter to a settlement and laid the foundations for amicable co-operation between the merchants and the craftsmen remains an interesting figure in the city's life of that time.

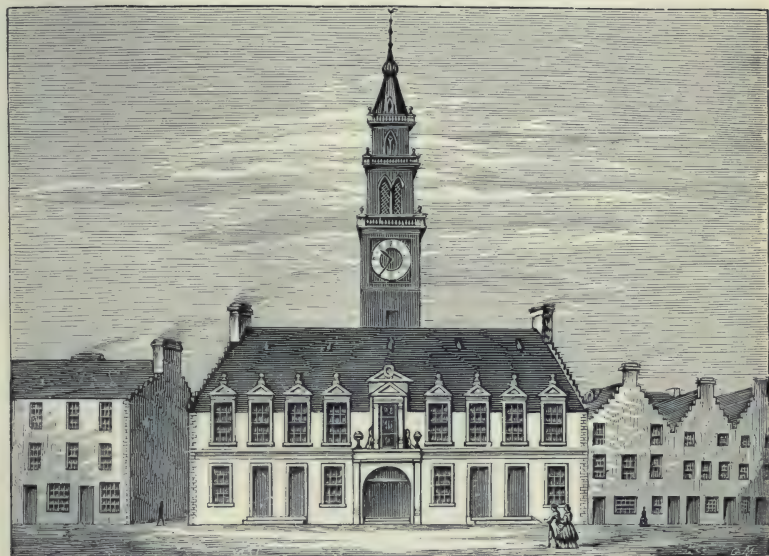
It is commonly understood that the founder of the overseas trade of Glasgow was William Elphinstone, a member of the noble family of that name, who settled in the city about the year 1420. Setting up the business of curing salmon and herring he sent these commodities to France, and traded them there for cargoes of brandy and salt. It was no doubt a descendant of his, John Elphinstone, who in 1508 obtained a licence from James IV. to build an embattled house in High Street,⁸ became a bailie of Glasgow in 1512, and before 1520 was rentaller, or tenant, of Gorbals and Bridgend on the archbishop's lands of Govan.⁹ In 1521 his son George appears as rentaller,¹⁰ and in 1554 his son again, another George, was entered as tenant of these lands. In 1563 he purchased the lands of Blythswood to the west of the city from the parson of Erskine. In 1579 George Elphinstone of Blythswood converted the old family tenancy of Gorbals and Bridgend into a permanent possession by obtaining a feu charter from Archbishop Boyd for an annual consideration of £6 and eight bolls of meal. In the charter of confirmation which Sir George Elphinstone

⁷ *McUre's History of Glasgow*, pp. 161-2.

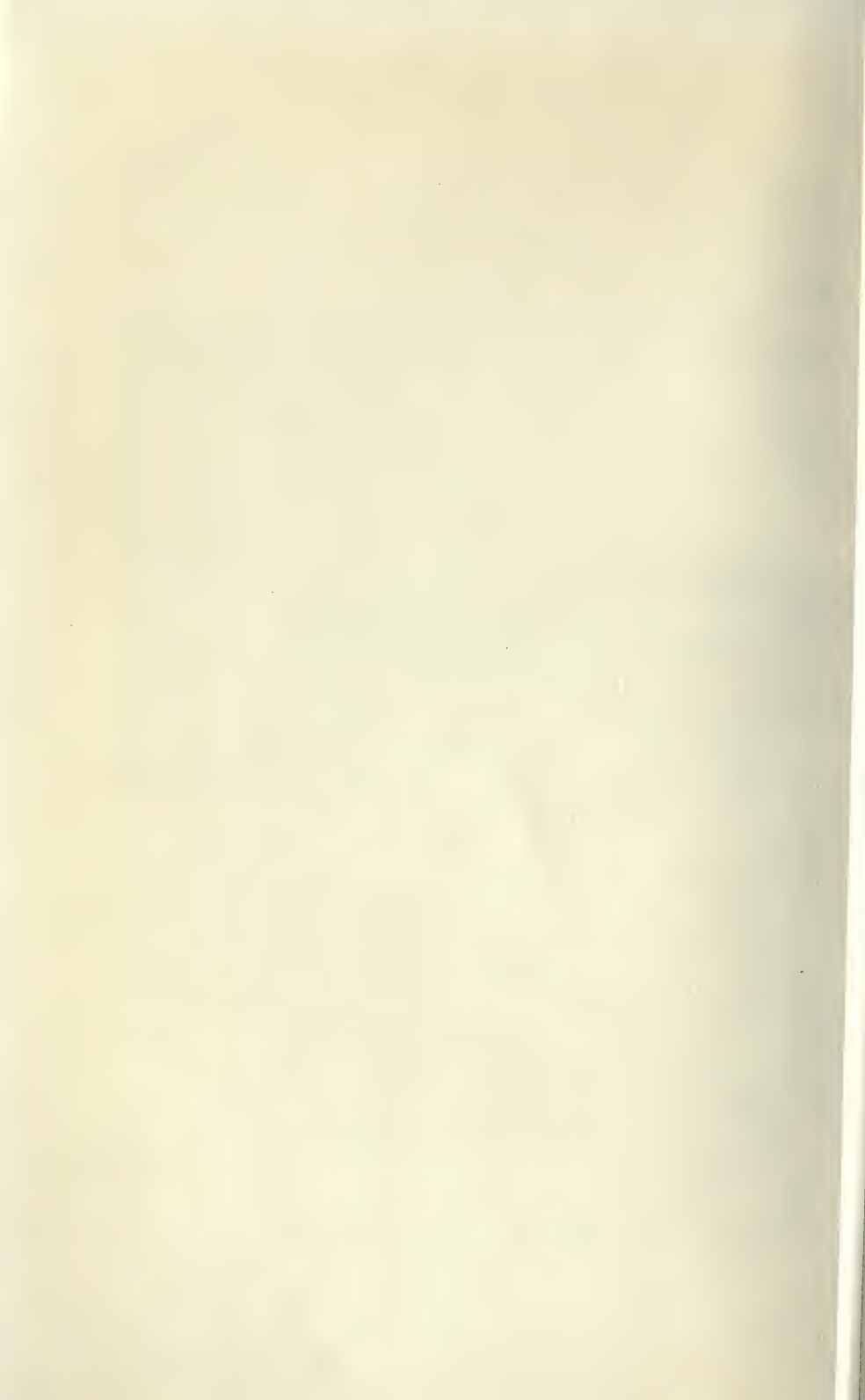
⁸ *Privy Seal Reg.* i. 1696.

⁹ *Charters and Documents*, i. 495.

¹⁰ *Diocesan Reg.* 26, 78, 82.



THE OLD MERCHANTS HALL IN THE BRIGGATE.



secured from a later archbishop in 1607 it is stated that these lands had been held by him and his forebears "beyond the memory of man."¹

Meanwhile in 1572 George Elphinstone was one of the bailies who made over the Church property in Glasgow to the University ;² in 1579 he represented the city at the Convention of Burghs,³ and in 1584 he was one of the magistrates appointed by Archbishop Montgomerie.⁴

It was probably a son of the bailie who secured for his family its final rise to consequence in connection with the city. In 1594, at the baptism of Prince Henry, George Elphinstone was knighted. In 1595 he had his lands erected into a barony as the Barony of Blythswood,⁵ and five years later, in September, 1600, he was admitted a burghess of Glasgow as Sir George Elphinstone of Blythswood.⁶ At the same time, as nominee of the Duke of Lennox, and upon the recommendation of King James, he was appointed Provost of the city.⁷ Two months later he obtained from the king charters of the barony of Leyes and of the New Park of Partick.⁸ So far as appearances went, Sir George Elphinstone was a wealthy man, with every prospect of becoming a great one.

Though the burgh records for part of the period are missing, he appears to have been chosen Provost each year till 1605. In October of that year, the last of his appointment, the council records bear that the city fathers "all in one voice," in respect

¹ *Great Seal Reg.* 1609-20, p. 201.

² *Charters and Documents*, pt. ii. p. 149.

³ *Records of Convention*, i. 83-90. ⁴ *Burgh Records*, i. 113.

⁵ *Inventure*, No. 5, p. 100. It was upon the authority of this charter that, after acquiring the lands of Gorbals in 1650, the magistrates of Glasgow exercised baronial jurisdiction over that district for about two hundred years. (See *The Barony of Gorbals*, Regality Club IV. pp. 1-60. See also the monograph on Gorbals by Superintendent Ord).

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. 211. ⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 213.

⁸ *Great Seal Register*, 1593-1608, p. 381.

of the singular care, great zeal, and love he had shown the burgh, and the kindness of him and his forebears to the town, elected him their provost for the year, and that he as a free gift made over to the common good of the town all the fines which might accrue to him in the term of his office.⁹ Meanwhile there had occurred the crisis in city politics, by the successful settlement of which Sir George is chiefly remembered.

As already mentioned, the incorporations of craftsmen were pressing, more and more urgently, like the trades unions of to-day, for a direct share in government, and their jealousy of the merchant class showed itself in disturbances of the peace. As late as 13th July, 1605, a certain "fleschour" of the town was summoned before the magistrates for intruding himself into a merchant's place when the town guard paraded for the keeping of the fair, and for drawing his whinger to enforce his claim.¹⁰

In 1604 the magistrates and ministers intervened, and on 8th November, having agreed to submit their differences to arbitration, the merchants and the crafts each appointed twelve commissioners, and each body of commissioners appointed four oversmen or referees. The deliberations of these commissioners resulted in the signing of a "decree arbitral" or "letter of guildry" on 6th February, 1605. This was submitted to the town council three days later, and ordered to be registered in the burgh court books, and it remains the governing charter of the Merchants' House and the Trades' House to the present day.¹

The Letter of Guildry provided for the annual election of a Dean of Guild, who must always be a merchant, and of a Deacon-Convener, who must always be of craftsman rank, as well as a Visitor of Maltmen, who must be of that craft. It defined the duties of these officials, and their powers, and, in

⁹ *Burgh Records*, i. 234.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, i. 228.

¹ Gibson's *History*, pp. 339-361.

a series of fifty-four articles, laid down a code of rules for the admission and conduct of burgesses. It provided that the Dean of Guild should have a court of four merchants and four craftsmen, which should meet every Thursday at ten o'clock to decide disputes between merchants, align holdings and buildings, oversee the Master of Works and weights and measures, punish usurpers of burgess privileges, and tax the guild brethren for the support of distressed members and their families. Any burgess of good character, or the widow of one, might become a Guild brother by paying thirteen shillings and fourpence to the hospital and showing that, in the case of a merchant, he was worth five hundred merks, and, in the case of a craftsman, two hundred and fifty. Sons and sons-in-law of Guild brethren had to pay a slightly higher fee. To induce apprentices to prefer their masters' daughters in marriage it was ordained that no apprentice should be admitted a burgess until he had served a burgess "for meat and fee" two years beyond his apprenticeship, nor a Guild brother till he had been a burgess for four years. An incomer to the town might become a Guild brother by becoming a burgess, satisfying the Dean of Guild as to his character, and paying a fee of thirty pounds, with 13s. 4d. to the hospital. If he married the daughter of a Guild brother his fee was substantially reduced. Future Guild brethren were forbidden to traffic in certain small wares, such as butter, milk, eggs, herring, candles, and onions, as such traffic was "not agreeable to the honour of the calling of a guild brother." And, for the converse reason, burgesses who were not guild brethren were forbidden to trade in silks, spices, sugars, confections, wine, wax, indigo, cloths above twenty shillings the yard, etc., nor to deal wholesale in certain goods. Cramers, or street stall-holders, were restricted to deal only in the less honourable wares, and were only to be allowed to set their "crames" on the street on Mondays and at fairs. No burgess or guild brother was to buy goods with borrowed

money on pain of a fine of twenty pounds and loss of burghess rank. This rule was made "in respect of the greit hurt and damage that friemen of this burgh hes sustein it be sic doing heirtofair." Evidently speculation was not unknown in those days, but the rule must have placed a serious handicap on expansion of trade.

An officer was to be appointed to measure all cloths coming into the town for sale, especially the woollen cloths from Galloway and Stewarton, and no one else was allowed to do the measuring.

Regulations were also made for the appointment of a Deacon Convener from among the craftsmen, to exercise control over the craftsmen and their assistants. Each apprentice at his indenture was to pay a fee of forty shillings and twenty merks, and on becoming a burghess he was to pay two pennies weekly—a sort of health insurance premium of that time.

Provision was also made for the election of a Visitor of the Maltmen, whose business it was to see that no work in connection with brewing was done on "the Saboth day," and to see that no unwholesome grain was used in beer-making. It was declared unlawful to buy malt, meal, or bear for the purpose of selling it over again, and it was also forbidden to buy grain except in the open market. The making of malt, either for home use or sale, was confined strictly to members of the craft. Every making of malt for sale was subject to a tax of eight pennies and every kiln of corn to one of eight pounds, the money to be devoted to the support of the decayed brethren.²

On the whole, the Letter of Guildry must be regarded as a wise measure, well in advance of the spirit of its time, notwithstanding the close monopolies it attempted to set up in favour of certain trades. In any case, backed up by an order of the town council that there should be no further disputes as to precedence between merchants and craftsmen at weapon-

² *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. i. pp. 605-620.

schawings and other assemblies,³ it proved effective for its purpose. For the authorship of the measure credit has, by common tradition, been given to Sir George Elphinstone. This tradition is supported by the facts that Sir George was provost at the time, and presided at the meetings at which the measure was passed, and he was also the chief of the three oversmen appointed to settle any differences which might arise in the framing of the proposals.

Almost immediately after the successful arrangement of this important matter Sir George became involved in the first of a series of troubles which seem to have harassed him till the end of his career.

In 1603 the king had infested his cousin, Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, in a feu of the lands and barony of Glasgow.⁴ The difficulty of communicating with the duke in London probably suggested to the magistrates the desirability of relief from the need of consulting him as to the appointment of provost and magistrates. Accordingly in 1605 Sir George Elphinstone rode to London and secured from the king a letter allowing the city to choose its own magistrates free from any superiority of the duke.⁵ By the Lennox party in Glasgow this was regarded as a movement to oust them from their long-accustomed position of influence.⁶ In July, 1606, the common procurator and two others rode to Edinburgh to prevent the ratification of the king's letter by parliament.⁷ At the same time Sir Walter Stewart of Minto and his friends raised a riot in the city, and with a large armed party drove the provost and his friends to the Castle Port, the northern entrance to the city. Sir George Elphinstone and his party found refuge in the house of the Earl of Wigtown, and were protected by him, the Master

³ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. i. p. 620.

⁴ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. p. 258.

⁵ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. p. 269; *Priv. Coun. Reg.* vii. 141.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. 243.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 249.

of Montrose, and the Laird of Kilsyth, all privy councillors, at the hazard of their lives.⁸ As a result both parties were committed to prison by the Privy Council—Sir Matthew and Sir Walter Stewart and their friends on the one side, and Sir George Elphinstone and James and John Elphinstone, his brothers, on the other.⁹ On the matter coming to a judgment Elphinstone was assoilzied, while the Stewarts were heavily fined.¹⁰ In a later letter the king stated that he understood the strife to have been caused by a rivalry for the provostship.¹

In the year after the settlement of this difference another source of trouble for Sir George arose. By way of relieving the debt under which it found itself the town resolved to create and exploit a monopoly in the milling of grain. It possessed its own Old Mill on the Molendinar, and it leased from Archibald Lyon his New Mill at Partick, from the archbishop his mill at the same place, and from the Laird of Minto the sub-dean's mill at Wester Craigs. The whole of these it leased for 4400 merks per annum to George Anderson and James Lightbody, and passed a resolution that every citizen must take his grain to these mills to be ground under pain of heavy fines. Now James Elphinstone, Woodside, Sir George's brother, had a mill of his own, at which Sir George and his tenants naturally preferred to grind their corn. They raised a suspension of the action of the town council, and by way of reply the council directed them to be fined, imprisoned, and deprived of their burgess privileges.² The action came before the Privy Council,³ and dragged on for years. Again and again the city sent representatives to Edinburgh to attend to its interests in the "guid-ganging plea."⁴ In 1609 the differ-

⁸ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* vii. 213. *Burgh Records*, i. 251, 253.

⁹ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* vii. 233, 234.

¹⁰ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* vii. 247.

¹ *Charters and Documents*, i. 237. *Burgh Records*, i. 255.

² *Burgh Records*, i. p. 274, and on.

³ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* viii. p. 179.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, i. 297, 298.

ence was submitted to the Earl of Abercorn and the Archbishop of Glasgow, and is stated to have been amicably settled ; ⁵ but as the thirlage and sucken enacted by the town was made perpetual in 1615, Sir George and his brother appear to have really lost their case.⁶

From that time Sir George appears to have taken no further part in the public affairs of the city, though in 1615 he acted as chancellor of the jury which was empanelled for the trial of John Ogilvie, charged with the crimes of being a Jesuit and assisting the supremacy of the pope, and who was found guilty and duly hanged.⁷

In the following year Elphinstone secured from the college a lease of the teinds and teind sheaves of his lands in Gorbals and elsewhere,⁸ but this appears to have been his last transaction towards the building up of a great estate. No record remains of his descent into difficulties, or the reason for his final ruin, but in 1634 the crash came. In that year he conveyed to Robert, Viscount Belhaven, the whole of his possessions, including Woodside, Cowcaddens, Nether Newton, Blythwood, Gorbals, and his house in Glasgow, with the offices of bailliary and justiciary he had secured over them.⁹ In the same year he died.¹⁰ Some idea of the value of his great estates may be gathered from the fact that a year later the town council agreed to buy the lands of Gorbals and Bridgend for 100,000 merks (£5,555 11s. 1d. sterling), though the bargain did not take effect.¹ So complete was Elphinstone's ruin that, as recorded by M'Ure, "his corpse was arrested by his creditors, and his friends buried him privately in the chapel adjoining his house."

⁵ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* viii. 706-7.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, ii. 309.

⁷ Spottiswood, iii. 222-6 ; *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, iii. 330-352 ; *Charters and Documents*, i. 276.

⁸ *Inventure*, No. 8, p. 100.

⁹ *Inventure*, No. 9, p. 101 ; *Charters and Documents*, i. 496.

¹⁰ *Charters and Documents*, i. 345.

¹ *Burgh Records*, ii. 31.

CHAPTER XV

ARCHBISHOP JOHN SPOTTISWOOD

WHILE the prelates appointed in Scotland in the early days of James VI. can be regarded as little more than nominal occupants of their office, installed to legalize the transfer of church property to another set of owners, and while most of them justified their popular nickname of "tulchans"¹ by easy compliance with the mercenary designs of those who placed them in the episcopal chair, an entire change took place when the king crossed the Border to ascend the English throne. Strengthened by the public opinion and the might of his southern kingdom, and freed from the domination of the ministers of the kirk, James became as anxious to gather together and restore the revenues and powers of the Scottish hierarchy as he had previously appeared willing to disperse them. Perhaps the best example of the change of policy is to be seen in the case of the archbishopric of Glasgow.

The circumstances of the appointment of Archbishop John Spottiswood have already been narrated.² The appointment of the five successive "tulchan" archbishops had all been more or less questionable from the Catholic and ecclesiastical point of view, for Archbishop Beaton, the pre-Reformation holder of the see, was still alive in France, and had never resigned his office. But when, at "Burleigh House by

¹ A tulchan was the stuffed image of a calf set up in a byre to induce the cows to allow themselves to be more easily milked.

² Chapter ix. *supra*.

Stamford town," on his migration south, the king received news of the death of Beaton, the way was opened for an appointment which no one could question. John Spottiswood, minister of Calder, in Midlothian, whom he forthwith designated to the vacant archbishopric, was a man in every way suited to fill the dignified post in that most difficult time, and he was destined in his own person to see from beginning to end the drama of the efforts of James VI. and Charles I. to establish episcopacy as the order of the national church of Scotland. He came from the inner circle of the Presbyterian Kirk. His father, John Spottiswood, was superintendent of Lothian, one of the six "Johns" of the Scottish Reformation, and a Reformer who was on friendly terms with Queen Mary. The son himself had been a student under Andrew Melville at Glasgow, where he took his degree in 1581 at the age of sixteen. Licensed to preach before he was twenty, he was ordained almost immediately to a parish in the Merse, and in 1586 was a member of the General Assembly. In 1590 he became minister of his father's parish of Calder, and eight years later married a daughter of David Lindsay, minister, of Leith, afterwards Bishop of Ross. His attitude on church policy having commended him to the court he was in 1602 sent as chaplain of the embassy of the Duke of Lennox to France, and in the following year was one of the Scottish clergy chosen to accompany King James on his migration to England.

On receiving news of the death of Archbishop Beaton the king not only designated Spottiswood to be Archbishop of Glasgow, but made him a privy councillor and sent him back to escort the queen to England.³ The queen made him her almoner, and in that office he accompanied her and her children to the south.

Though he bore the high-sounding title of an archbishop,

³ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* vii. pp. 44 *et seq.*

Spottiswood found himself in very straitened circumstances, and certainly unable to support a position at the English court, very little being left available for return to him of the once ample revenues of the Glasgow archbishopric.⁴ To help in the difficulty, the king gave him a pension of £80 in English money,⁵ and ordered that such temporalities as were still available should be restored to him. Accordingly an Act of the Scottish Parliament was passed in 1606 rescinding the Act of Annexation of 1587, and restoring to the bishops the honours and privileges, lands and other properties, belonging to their bishoprics, under the burden of maintaining the ministers serving the cure of the kirks. All persons who had acquired lands or teinds of bishoprics since the Act of Annexation were ordained to have their deeds renewed and ratified by the bishops, and to pay them the grassums, entries, and renewals of their feus. It was specially provided, however, that, as the feuars of the barony of Glasgow were numerous, and mostly too poor to pay the cost of renewing their infeftments, they were relieved from the obligation of doing this, and were to receive from the archbishop a ratification which was to be held as valid and effectual. Conform to this Act we find Spottiswood in the following year granting to Sir George Elphinstone of Blythswood a charter of the six-pound land of old extent of Gorbals and Bridgend, with half the five merk lands of Woodside, the New Park of Partick, and the lands of Nether Newton, Meikle Cowcaldanis, and part of the moss of Meikle Govan, which lands Sir George and his predecessors had possessed beyond the memory of man, and held by ancient as well as by new infeftments granted by the king after the Act of Annexation, and which the king had erected into the free barony of Blythswood—all for an annual sum of £8 5s. 4d. in money and some payments in kind. At the same time the archbishop constituted Sir George and his

⁴ *Burton*, v. 446-9, vi. 9-13, 94-99.

⁵ *Crawford*, 160-195.

heirs hereditary bailies and justiciars of these lands.⁶ As the Act, however, specially excepted the gifts and pensions granted to the Duke of Lennox, and Sir George, Sir James, and Sir Archibald Erskine, it is to be feared that only a moiety of the ancient possessions of the archbishops of Glasgow returned to the hands of Archbishop Spottiswood.⁷ That the king did not entirely divest himself of the annexed possessions of the archbishopric is shown by the fact that in 1609 he granted to James Hamilton, merchant burgess, a feu of a dwelling and pertinents to the south-east of the old manse of the Vicars Choral on the north side of the cathedral for a yearly duty of 10s. 8d.⁸ Matters were perhaps made a little better by the charter granted in 1608, by which the parsonage and vicarage of Glasgow, resigned by David Wemyss, were suppressed and united indissolubly to the archbishopric.⁹ Spottiswood granted a tack of the teind sheaves and other teinds of the parsonage and of the teind herring and other teind fish of the vicarage to James, Master of Blantyre, and his heir, for life and for thirty-eight years afterwards, for an annual rent of three hundred merks and the cost of repairing the kirks and other burdens.¹⁰

Another Act of Parliament on 24th June, 1609, restored the archbishops and bishops of the realm to their former authority and dignity, privileges and jurisdictions, and especially to the jurisdiction of commissariats and the administration of justice in all spiritual and ecclesiastical causes in their bounds.¹ The powers thus conferred were to involve Spottiswood in the one act which has left a stain on his memory.

Meanwhile the archbishop exerted himself to further more

⁶ *Great Seal. Reg.* 1609-20, p. 201, No. 540.

⁷ *Act. Parl.* iv. 281-4.

⁸ *Great Seal Register*, 1609-20, p. 51, No. 138.

⁹ *Great Seal Register* (1593-1608), p. 761, No. 2084.

¹⁰ *Charters and Documents*, i. Abstract, p. 62.

¹ *Act. Parl.* iv. 430.

than one of the projects of the king. In July, 1604, he was one of the Scottish commissioners appointed to report on the suggested union of the parliaments of Scotland and England, and on 6th December he signed the articles. Had the union taken place then it might have expedited by a hundred years the developments of modern times; but the age was not ripe, and the project was allowed to lapse by reason of lack of interest on both sides.

✓ In 1604 also he was appointed a Lord of the Articles—the permanent committee appointed by the Scottish Parliament to carry on its business while the ordinary members occupied themselves more to their pleasure and profit with their own affairs at home. He was re-elected to this office by successive parliaments, and it enabled him to bring greater influence to bear in supporting the king's measures for establishing episcopal government in the Church of Scotland. In 1605 and 1606 he was in close correspondence with James on the subject, and it was partly as a result of his activities that the six ministers who most vigorously opposed the king's policy were sent into exile. A serious blow was struck at presbyterian church government when in 1606 the General Assembly was induced to appoint him perpetual moderator of the presbytery, and that action was backed up by an order of the Privy Council to the presbytery in 1607 to obey the ordinance within twenty-four hours, under pain of being treated as rebels. The effect of these proceedings was of course to place the presbytery largely under the control of the archbishop, a substantial step towards the complete establishment of episcopacy. By these acts Spottiswood aroused extreme resentment and indignation in the presbyterian party.

These feelings were certainly not allayed when a General Assembly, held in Spottiswood's own city of Glasgow in June, 1610, and it may be presumed under the direct influence of

the archbishop, passed Acts declaring (1) that the calling of General Assemblies belonged to the king, by virtue of his royal prerogative; (2) that synods should be held in every diocese twice a year, and that the archbishop or bishop of the diocese should preside; (3) that no sentence of excommunication or absolution should be passed without the knowledge of the bishop; (4) that presentations should be directed to the archbishop or bishop, and that, if he found the presentee qualified, he should take the assistance of the ministers of the district, and perfect the act of ordination; (5) that the bishop should suspend or deprive ministers with the advice and cooperation of the other ministers of the bounds; (6) that on admission to a kirk the minister should take the oath of obedience to the king and the ordinary; (7) that bishops should visit their dioceses themselves, or by a substitute when the bounds were too extended; (8) that weekly exercises of doctrine should be held by ministers at their accustomed meetings, the bishop or deputy being moderator; (9) that no minister should, in the pulpit or in private exercise, argue against or disobey the acts of this assembly, under pain of deprivation, or discuss in the pulpit the party or unparty of ministers.²

The last of these provisions was a real drawing of the teeth of the ministers, whose dearest privilege for forty years had been that of inveighing from the pulpit against anything or anyone they chose and in any language they chose. The other ordinances amounted to nothing more or less than a virtual full establishing of episcopacy and a placing of the entire control of the church in the hands of the bishops. Nor was there much comfort in two further provisions: (1) that in all things bishops should be subject to the General Assembly, and, when found culpable, might, with the king's consent,

² Calderwood, vii. 99-103. Spottiswood, iii. 206-7. Ratified by Act, 1612, c. 1. *Act. Parl.* iv. 469.

be deprived; (2) that no one should be eligible as a bishop who was under forty years of age, and had not taught as a minister for ten years. As the General Assembly could only be called and dismissed by the king, its veto upon bishops was of little value, and Spottiswood himself had been no more than thirty-eight when appointed archbishop.

To sustain a position of increasing importance the archbishop in the following year, 1611, partially repaired the Bishop's Castle of Glasgow, and resided within its walls. He also began the roofing of the cathedral with lead. In the impoverished state of the archbishopric it may appear strange that he was able to do so much. But apparently he exploited all available resources. Of these an instance may be cited. In 1613, for a payment of 2,000 merks (£166 13s. 4d. sterling) he granted the burgh a lease for nineteen years of all the bishop's customs of the tron and harbour,³ and in the following year he conveyed these customs to the town absolutely for an annual feu-duty of £50 Scots with £16 13s. 4d. of augmentation, altogether 100 merks or £5 11s. 1½d. sterling.⁴ As these customs had already been conveyed to the college by Archbishop Boyd, trouble shortly arose. To protect itself the town obtained from the college a charter of the customs at the same rate of feu-duty as it was paying to the archbishop, then for its relief it obtained from the archbishop a bond by which he undertook either to obtain a renunciation from the college or to refund the money which had been paid to himself.⁵ Apparently in the end the case went against the archbishop, for in 1617 the king confirmed the charter of the college to the town.⁶

While he made attempts of this kind to secure again the

³ *Inventory of Writs and Evidents* (1696), p. 34. B.C. c. 8, No. 5.

⁴ *Council Records*, i. 337.

⁵ *Charters and Documents*, vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 295, 296, No. xcvi.

⁶ *Inventory of Writs* (as above), No. 9.

ancient revenues of the archbishopric, Spottiswood appears to have succeeded in recovering the right to appoint the provost and bailies of Glasgow. This right had been exercised down to 1595 by Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre, as Lord of Glasgow,⁷ and had passed to the Duke of Lennox along with the superiority of the burgh and lands of the archbishopric. Thus, on 6th October, 1601, we find Aulay Mac-Aulay of Ardincaple presenting a missive "fra my Lord Duikis grace, lord of Glasgw, superiour, and having power of the nominatioune of the provost and bailleis of Glasgw," desiring the bailies and council to admit Sir George Elphinstone of Blythswood to the provostship, which order the bailies and council duly carried out.⁸ But on 19th September, 1607, the archbishop in person presented a letter from the king, restoring to the archbishop the privilege of electing the magistrates, and, this being agreed to, the archbishop appeared with the Duke of Lennox in the council on 6th October, and nominated John Houston of Houston to be provost, with three others to be bailies. Houston, in taking office, gave his oath of fidelity to the king and the archbishop.⁹ The town council then elected consisted of twelve merchants and eleven craftsmen, with George Hutcheson as common procurator, Thomas Pettigrew as master of works, and Alexander Pollok as treasurer, and four days afterwards there were added Ninian Anderson as deacon-convener, James Lightbody as convener, and William Symmer as Dean of Guild.¹⁰

But while he thus reserved to himself the ancient right of the Archbishops to appoint the magistrates of the city, Spottiswood used his influence with the king to secure for Glasgow a very notable rise in rank and importance. It was at his "express and earnest request" that James, on 8th April, 1611, granted a

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 170.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, i. 225.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, i. 268, 269, 270.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, i. 272.

charter conveying to the provost, bailies, council, and community the burgh and city of Glasgow, with all its privileges and possessions, and at the same time erecting it into a free royal burgh, all for an annual payment to the Archbishop and his successors of sixteen merks Scots (11s. 1½d. stg.).¹ It was no doubt also on his initiative that, two years later, in recognition of the city's expense in maintaining the cathedral and the bridge, the king conveyed to the magistrates the "tennandry of Ratounraw," between forty and fifty acres in extent, which had formerly been the separate property and jurisdiction of the Sub-dean of the metropolitan church. This must be regarded as the first extension of the city.²

Partly through the personal favour with which he was regarded by King James, and partly through his own moderation and courtesy, Spottiswood appears to have held his position with wide general acceptance. In those difficult times the fact spoke eloquently for his enlightenment and good sense. His difficulties were not lessened by a circumstance which has been mostly lost sight of by later historians.

Though the Reformation had done away with the hierarchy and services of the Roman Church in Scotland, it is not to be supposed that the beliefs and usages of that Church had been rooted entirely out of the minds of the people. The session and presbytery records of those times are full of sentences against persons who continued to celebrate Yule and follow other "superstitious practices" of the older time. People who called themselves Protestants were still naturally under the influence of the traditional feelings and opinions of their forefathers, and kept up customs which had become interwoven with their social and domestic life. On Midsummer Eve many still kept up the kindling of bonfires.

¹ *Great Seal Register*, vi. p. 170, No. 462. *Charters and Documents*, pt. ii. pp. 278-283.

² *Ibid.*, 1609-1620, p. 351, No. 965.

At All-Hallows Eve or "Hallowe'en" they practised many ancient rites of augury—rites, though they did not know it, of a faith older even than the Roman Church itself. At Yule and New-Year's Day men and women dressed up and went guising to the houses of their neighbours. On Sunday people were still found holding market, or fishing or taking in their crops. In 1597 a Glasgow elder was fined and ordered to make repentance on the pillar for drying bear and making a haystack on the Lord's Day. Glasgow citizens still believed that a crucifix painted on their houses brought good luck.³ So-called Protestants were to be found going upon pilgrimage and washing themselves in holy wells.⁴ Fines and penances failed to eradicate altogether the rustic merriment, folksong, and other customs which had made Scotland a lightsome land in the days of the Roman priesthood. Reformers like the Wedderburns of Dundee did their best to alter the outlook of the people by converting the gay old songs into serious hymns—"gude and godlie ballates"; while others sought to discredit the old regime by setting the ancient cathedral music to ribald songs like "We're a' noddin'" and "John Anderson my Jo." Persons who absented themselves from the services of the kirk were fined, and eavesdroppers were employed to go about the streets and report inadvertent remarks.⁵ Under such compulsions to seriousness there were doubtless many who looked back with a sigh for the "brave old days," and among these the secret missionaries of the Roman Church found a fertile soil for their propaganda. There was reason to believe that many of these missionaries were at work in the country, and the fear of popery was still strong in the minds of the ministers of the kirk. In the

³ *MS. Presbytery Records*, 16th Aug. 1597, 28th Aug. 1599, 29th Oct. 1600, etc.

⁴ *Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen*, 1606, p. 50, 1608, p. 61.

⁵ *Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen*, 1606, p. 50. Cunningham, i. pp. 480-81.

parliament held at Edinburgh in August, 1607, an Act was passed against the sayers and hearers of mass.⁶ There is reason to believe that the king himself was panicky on the subject, perhaps not without reason, as the Guy Fawkes plot of 1605 would seem to show. In 1614 the zeal against popery of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Scotland received a spur in the shape of a letter from James urging severe measures against all persons "infected with that leprosie."

Among the authorities moved to action by that letter the chief was Archbishop Spottiswood. Among persons believed to be travelling in the country in the interest of Rome was one John Ogilvy. A Scotsman by birth, as his name implied, he had been twenty-two years on the continent, and on coming to Glasgow he had been well received by a number of the citizens. The bruit, however, went about that he was a "Jesuit and messe priest," and as such he was arrested and examined about the beginning of October, 1614, at the instance of the archbishop. It was an unhappy business, which was to throw the single shadow of obloquy on Spottiswood's career. Ogilvy's arrest having been reported to the king and Privy Council, the archbishop and three others were appointed justices to try the case.

The trial began in Edinburgh on 8th December, but was afterwards transferred to Glasgow, where Ogilvy was imprisoned, first in the archbishop's palace and afterwards in the tolbooth at the cross.⁷ A formidable commission was appointed to try the case. It consisted of the provost and bailies, with the archbishop and six assessors, of whom one was Sir Walter Stewart, bailie-deputy of the regality. There was also a jury, of which Sir George Elphinstone was chan-

⁶ *Acts of Parliament*, iv. p. 371.

⁷ Ogilvie's "*Relatio*," published three months after his death. Macgeorge, 3rd ed. appendix.

cellor. As in other cases of religious persecution, Ogilvy was tried, not for what he had done or said, but for what he believed. To make him confess he was kept without sleep for several nights, and it was upon what he stated to be his views under that ordeal that he was tried. The king sent down two questions to be categorically answered—"Whether the Pope could excommunicate and depose the king?" and "Whether it be no murder to slay his majesty being so excommunicated and deposed by the Pope?" The archbishop tried to leave a loophole by the manner in which he put the questions, but Ogilvy answered honestly, saying he would give his life for the doctrine of his church, should it decide these questions in the affirmative.

On 28th February, 1615, the trial took place in the tolbooth, the crime averred being high treason for declining the king's authority, alleging the supremacy of the pope, and hearing and saying mass. The jury found the accused guilty, and on the same afternoon he was led over the street and hanged at the cross, termed the forum or market-place in the contemporary account. His body was afterwards buried in the ground set apart for malefactors on the north side of the cathedral.⁸

While Ogilvy lay in prison some thirteen or fourteen of the inhabitants of Glasgow were also tried before a court consisting of the archbishop and three members of the Privy Council, under a commission from the king, and were convicted of the crime of hearing mass and entertaining a mass priest. "The bruit went that they were to be beheaded, drawn, and quartered; but they were in no danger."⁹

Ogilvy is said to have been the only Roman Catholic priest put to death for his religion in Scotland after the Refor-

⁸ Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, iii. 330-352. *Privy Council Reg.* x. 284-6, 304-7. Spottiswood, iii. 222-6. Calderwood, vii. 193, 196.

⁹ Calderwood, vii. 193.

mation, and considering the lateness of his time and the active interest taken in the case by the king and Privy Council, his trial and execution would appear to have had rather a political than a religious motive. The presbyterian Calderwood approved of the action, but the prime mover was certainly Archbishop Spottiswood, and it is to be regretted that his occupation of the see of Glasgow should have closed with such an act. Two months afterwards the primacy became vacant by the death of Archbishop Gledstanes, and Spottiswood was transferred to St. Andrews.¹⁰

After he had thus passed out of direct connection with the city of Glasgow, the archbishop played a part of increasing importance in the affairs of Scotland. In 1616 he purchased the estate of Dairsie, and in that and the two following years presided at the meetings of the General Assembly. In 1632 he subscribed a thousand merks to the library of Glasgow University, but deferred payment till changed circumstances put it out of his power. In 1633 he crowned Charles I. at Holyrood; in 1634 he took an active part in the prosecution of the second Lord Balmerino, sentenced to death for petitioning against episcopacy; in 1635 he was appointed Chancellor of Scotland, and secured the erection of the bishopric of Edinburgh; in 1637 he was present in St. Giles' when the new Dean of Edinburgh essayed to read the liturgy, and it was he who called upon the magistrates to suppress the ensuing riot. Finally he was present at the momentous General Assembly held at Glasgow in 1638, when episcopacy was abolished and he was deposed and excommunicated; and twelve days afterwards he died of sickness and grief. By the king's command he was buried in Westminster Abbey near the grave of James VI. His *History of the Church and State of Scotland* remains a work of much value for the light it throws on the movements of his own time. One of his

¹⁰ *Great Seal Reg.* 1609-1620, p. 453, No. 1237.

sons, Sir John Spottiswood of Dairsie, was a gentleman of the bedchamber to James VI. ; the other, Sir Robert Spottiswood of Pentland, became lord president of the Court of Session, and, joining the wars of Montrose, was taken prisoner at the battle of Philiphaugh in 1645, and executed afterwards in cold blood by the Covenanters.¹

¹ It was Archbishop Spottiswood who in 1611 built a castle on the bank of the Kelvin, at Partick, to serve as a country seat for the archbishops of Glasgow, as the former country seat at Lochwood to the east of the city had been demolished as already mentioned. In the following year his financial position was further improved by King James appointing him Commendator of the Abbey of Kilwinning, whereby he enjoyed the spiritualities of that foundation.—Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii. 629.

CHAPTER XVI

LIFE IN THE BURGH IN THE REIGN OF JAMES VI

JOHN LESLEY, Bishop of Ross, and confidential agent of Queen Mary, in his History published in 1578, gives an interesting description of Glasgow in his time. As translated by Father Dalrymple in 1596 this runs : " Beyond the water of Clyd is a noble toune, to wit, of Glasgwe, quhair is ane archibischope sait. Surelie Glasgw is the most renouned market in all the west, honorable and celebrat. Afor the heresie began thair was ane academie, nocht obscure, nather infrequent or of ane small number, in respect baith of philosophie and grammar and politick studie. It is sa frequent ¹ and of sick renoune that it sendes to the easte countreyes verie fatt kye, herring lykewyse and salmonte, oxne-hydes, wole and skinis, buttir lykewyse that nane better, and cheise. Bot, contrare, to the west (quhair is a peple verie numerable in respect of the commoditie of the sey cost) by ² uther merchandise, all kynd of corne to them sendes. Bot till Argyle, in the Hilande Iles, and lykewise to the outmost Iles in Irland it sendes baith wine and ale and sik kynde of drink as thir natiouns have plesure off, to wit, maid of ale, of honie, anat seide and sum uthires spices (this drink the commone peple commonlie callis Brogat). In this cuntrie thay lykewyse sell *aqua vitæ*, quhilke heir in place of wine thay commonlie use. It is a very fair situatioune and plesand, abundant in gairdine herbes, apple trees, and orchardis. Farther, it hes a verie commodius seyporte, quhairin little schipis, ten myles from the sey,

¹ The market is so popular.

² Besides.

restis besyde the brig, quhilke brig having 8 bowis,³ is ane gret delectatione to the lukeris upon it. The landes rounde about, the space of 4 or 5 myles, pertienes to the Archibischope : of quhilkis the rentes⁴ hes nocht bene takne from the heires thir thousand yeris and mair. Mairover that, in the same heritage, ilke hes rychteouslie from age to age, succidet till uther, that worthilie they may be called perpetual heires."⁵

The extant Burgh Records of Glasgow for 1573 downwards afford a fairly comprehensive view of the kind of life led by the inhabitants of the little city, about the size of a moderate village of to-day, which lay pleasantly taking the morning sun on the high western bank of the Molendinar.

The head court of the burgh and city—what is now known as the town council—consisted in the earliest of these records of a provost, two or often three bailies, fourteen to seventeen councillors, five "lynars," and a water bailie, with four officers. From among the members were appointed a treasurer, a master of works, and a common procurator, as well as keepers of the separate keys of the two locks and padlock of the strong-room, the two locks of the "little kist" inside, and the key of the box containing the common seal.⁶ The court sat in the tolbooth at the foot of High Street, and it included in its functions not only those of the town council of later times, but also those of a parochial board or parish council, those of a police court, and some of those of a sheriff court.

With primitive simplicity the council carefully ordained the prices to be charged for various goods, in the fashion that has been followed in more recent times during a great war. The best ale—"king's ale"—was to be no more than sixpence the pint, while the fourpenny loaf must weigh fourteen ounces, and be well-baked, of good stuff, with the name of

³ Arches.

⁴ Occupation.

⁵ *Lesley's History of Scotland* (Scottish Text Society), i. pp. 16, 17.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. 24.

the baker printed on it, so that any deficiency might be brought home to him. No blown mutton was to be exposed for sale, and no tallow exported out of the town in wholesale quantities till after Fastern's Even. Fleshers were not allowed to buy tallow or dead meat to sell again, and all flesh and fish brought into the town had to be taken to the market for sale at once, without holding back part for a better price. Tallow was to be no more than seventeen shillings the stone, and candles no more than twelve pence the pound. None of these commodities was to be sold or made for sale by others than freemen of the burgh. The bailies were required to visit the markets, one of the council attended by an officer was deputed to attend the meal market, and tasters were appointed to the various districts to make sure that all the ale brewed was of sufficient quality. Nothing is said as to what should happen if bakers, brewers, and tallow-makers should find that the prices ordained for their commodities resulted in loss, and the effects of the laws of supply and demand were evidently unknown. The wheels of life in the burgh must have run somewhat grittily when every detail of existence was subject to the supervision and interference of some meddlesome bailie or councillor.

Some notion of the habits of the time and of the slow rate at which life progressed may be gathered from the order that no middens were to be made on the front street or on the green, and that stones and timber were not allowed to lie in the street for more than a year and a day. A wholesome ordinance was that made to enforce the acts of parliament against banning, swearing, and blaspheming God's name, and one may draw conclusions as to certain social customs from a remit to the minister and kirk-session to take action for the discouragement of riotous banqueting at bridals, baptisms, and house-warmings.⁷

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 25, 93.

A bailie was a man of very real authority in those days.

A frequently recurring trouble in those times was the outbreak of the pest or plague in various parts of the kingdom. On 29th October, 1574, the provost, bailies, and council, "understanding that the contagious sickness called the pest" had newly broken out in the realm, take strenuous measures to protect their "gud town thairfra." No persons coming from Leith, Kirkcaldy, Dysart, or Burntisland were to be admitted within the burgh or traded with, and in the case of Edinburgh, where the outbreak was so far confined to Bell's Wynd, only such persons as brought certificates from the magistrates of the capital were to be admitted. Further, no person was to bring goods from these or other infected places on pain of death. No pipers, fiddlers, minstrels, or other vagabonds were to remain in the town without special permit from the provost. All beggars not born in the burgh were to depart within twenty-four hours on pain of burning in the cheek. If any person in the town fell sick the master of the house was to report the occurrence at once, and every dead body was to be inspected by an appointed officer before being placed in the winding sheet. Searchers were appointed for the different districts to visit each house morning and evening, and make sure that the regulations were enforced. Any neglect was to be punished by banishment. At the same time, watchers were appointed for the bridge, the river fords, and the four main ports or gates of the burgh at the Stablegreen, Gallowgate, Trongate, and South Port, or Nether Barras Yett. At the same time, the Rottenrow, Drygate and Greyfriar ports were to remain locked, while the Schoolhouse Wynd and all the vennels were to be "simpliciter condampnit and stekit up."⁸

The action of the council was prompt, energetic, and comprehensive, and it appears to have been effective, for

⁸ *Burgh Records*, i. 27.

there is no record of the plague having touched the city at that time.

Ten years later, in 1584, when the pest was increasing in Fife, two persons, chosen from among the townsmen, were ordered to keep each of the ports and exits, the hours being from six in the morning till six at night, while a considerable number of "quartermasters" were chosen to keep watch on the yard ends, back gates, and private entries to the town. These last—there were forty-one of them—had evidently to quarter, or march to and fro, each on his own beat.⁹ As the plague on that occasion lasted for more than four years, and came as near as Paisley, the tax entailed upon the time of the citizens may be understood.¹⁰

As a head court of the burgh and city, the provost and bailies, sitting in the tolbooth, dealt with a large variety of causes. Amongst the most frequent during the reign of James VI. were those of poor creatures adjudged to be lepers. These were forthwith either banished altogether from the community or ordered to take up their abode in the lepers' hospital on the farther side of the river. Sometimes when the leper could be kept at home without danger to others he was ordered to confine himself to his own house. On two days in the week the lepers were allowed to come into the town quietly and visit their friends. The disease was evidently very common and a serious danger to the community.¹

Debtors were confined in the tolbooth, and failing the payment of their debt could only obtain their discharge by "swearing themselves bare." The process made matters public enough. Thus, on 4th March, 1574-5, a certain Mathew Hamilton supplicates the court that he has been confined in the tolbooth for four weeks for the non-fulfilment of an order to pay Alexander Rhynd a debt of twelve merks for a hogs-

⁹ *Burgh Records*, III.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 119.

¹ *Ibid.*, i. 34, 36, 91, 93.

head of herring. He declares that during his confinement he has had nothing to sustain him but the alms of the citizens, and he offers to swear that he has no goods of any kind worth five shillings, and is unable to procure any to pay the debt. The magistrates thereupon order proclamation of the facts to be made at the cross, warning all who may have claims against the debtor. Then as none came forward to object, and no one offered to sustain him in prison, and as Hamilton instantly gave his oath, "swearing himself bare, as the saying is," they discharged him from the tolbooth.

We have already seen how the government of the country, when it came into possession of a third of the land of Scotland through the disestablishment of the Catholic Church, found it more convenient and remunerative to hand over these lands to private ownership for a fixed annual payment or feu duty, than to manage them directly by means of State officials or factors. In the same way the burgh found it less troublesome and more profitable to let the fees of its markets and the toll of its bridge to private individuals for a definite sum annually, than to levy these fees and tolls by the hands of salaried officers. Thus on 25th May, 1575, appears the entry, "The casualties of the market, called 'the ladle,' set to John Wilson, pewterer, for 170 merks; and the new gift given to the brig, and small casualties granted thereto, set to John Snype for forty pounds." ²

The magistrates were keenly alive to infringements of the burgh privileges. Free trade was anathema in their eyes. On 31st May, 1575, certain skinnners in Pollok and Carmyle were "found in the wrong" and fined for buying skins within the bounds of the burgh, "they being unfree," otherwise non-burgesses, and they were warned to abstain from the practice in time coming on pain of forfeiting the goods thus acquired.

² *Burgh Records*, i. 37.

The cutting of turf and peat on the common lands of the burgh was a privilege of the freemen of the city which the magistrates might be expected to safeguard with even greater jealousy. Outsiders were only allowed the liberty at a price. On 14th June, 1575, James Fleming, the common procurator of the burgh, brought a charge against Christian Paul, widow of the late Robert Crawford, and her son John, dwelling in Wester Craigs, "another lord's ground," that they had cut and carried away turf and peat that year without a licence. The defence was that the accused had done the same thing under licence in previous years, but had neglected to procure a permit for the current season.³

The existence of the original cross of Glasgow at the intersection of Drygate and Rottenrow with High Street and Castle Street⁴ has frequently been questioned. But a case decided before the magistrates' court on 11th October, 1575, would appear to place the existence of this early cross beyond doubt. On that date James Rankin was found guilty and fined for removing "ane greit croce liand in Rattounraw pertenyng to the toun."⁵

In those days as in late times there were "conscientious objectors" against measures of warlike defence, who found their religious or political views in curious agreement with their personal convenience and inclinations. In this category would appear to have been John Wilson and James Anderson, fleshers and burgesses, who were convicted and fined for absenting themselves from the general weaponschawing held on the Green on 10th October of the same year, and "contemptuslie abydand thairfra," though they were in the town at the time.⁶

There were, of course, the common police court cases of

³ *Burgh Records*, i. 38.

⁴ *Old Glasgow*, by A. Macgeorge, 121.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, i. 42.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. 42.

assault and battery. It is clear, too, that the "cornerman" was not more chivalrous in his treatment of women then than now. John Wilson, tailor, for example, is convicted of casting Elizabeth Brokas down on the ground at the cross, dumping her with his knees, and scattering her syboes. By way of amends, which must have been very galling to him and gratifying to her, he was ordered to appear at the cross on the following Monday, and there, upon his knees ask God and her for forgiveness. Ninian Swan, again, was "fund in the wrang" for striking Marion Simson with "ane tangis" and throwing her to the ground. In this affair the lady had retaliated by "spitting upon the said Ninian's face," so both parties were held to be in fault.⁷

More curious is a case of blood payment, or compensation for manslaughter, to which the court interponed its authority on 29th November, 1575. A certain burgess, Ninian M'Lister, had been slain by one Ninian Syar, also a burgess, how long previously is not stated, and the representatives of the two parties, having composed the matter, bring their agreement to the magistrates' court, to have it inserted in the burgh books, and obtain the strength of a decree of the provost and bailies. The compact bears that Margaret Cairns, relict or widow of the slain man, and William his son and heir, for themselves and the other children, kin, and friends, have made agreement with David Syar, son and heir-apparent of Ninian Syar, the slayer, acting for his father, brethren, kin, and friends, to remit and forgive all malice and hatred of their hearts for the slaughter, and to forgo any action, criminal or otherwise, which they might have taken against the slayer, his kin, friends, assisters, or partakers, to hold themselves towards the latter without rancour, as they were before the slaughter, and as if it had never been committed, and to subscribe a sufficient Letter of Slayanes, in due and com-

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 42, 43.

petent form, conform to usage in such cases. For these concessions David Syar undertakes that his father shall appear in the High Kirk on a certain date, and there make homage and repentance for the slaughter with such ceremonies and circumstances as should be ordained and devised by two Glasgow burgesses chosen by both parties for the purpose ; and he also undertook to pay the widow and her children the sum of three hundred merks in name of kynbute for the slaughter. The names of three burgesses are given as security for the payment, George Elphinstone of Blythswood and John Stewart of Bowhouse undertaking to relieve these burgesses of responsibility, and Ninian and David Syar undertaking to "relieve and keep scatheless" all their cautioners for the payment. The sitting magistrate, William Cunninghame, considered the agreement reasonable, and ordered it to be registered in the books of the burgh, and to have the strength of a decree of the court. Thus was the slaughter of a burgh compounded for in Glasgow in the year 1575.⁸

An action which throws light on the jurisdictions of the time is recorded on 6th December of the same year. One David Morison had granted Thomas Hutchinson a wadset or bond over a property in the Stockwellgate, and had failed for five years to pay the yearly interest of five merks. On the case coming up, both parties were present, but there also appeared Robert Lindsay of Dunrod as bailie to Lord St. John, owner of the whole Temple lands. Lindsay claimed that as David Morison was Lord St. John's tenant in these Temple lands the case must be referred to his lordship's jurisdiction, and he offered caution of colraytht to that effect. Morison was accordingly repledged to the bailie of Templelands court ; Lindsay as Temple bailie appointed a day when the court should sit in Morison's house in the Stockwell, and

⁸ *Burgh Records*, i. 43.

David Lindsay, elder, became caution of colraytht for the administration of justice in the case.⁹

By way of correction to the common idea that Sunday was always observed in Scotland with the rigours that have earned the name Sabbatarianism, it is interesting to find that only so late as 3rd October, 1577, was a regulation made by the magistrates that no markets should be held on the Sundays, and that only in the previous July was it resolved that the Fair Day, which fell on the Sunday, should be postponed, and that no merchants should be allowed to open their booths or to erect "crames" or stalls on the streets on that day. This was followed in the same year by prosecutions for "slaying of flesche and wirking on the Sondaye" and the like, in which fines and poidings were imposed as punishment.¹⁰

Even as late as 1608 the magistrates are found issuing ordinances against the buying and selling of timber in the market at the bridge on Sunday afternoons, but the objection on that occasion was as much to the fact that the trade carried on upon that day was by wholesale merchants, to the prejudice of retail trade, as to the fact that it was an invasion of Sunday observance.¹

On 19th November, 1577, appears the earliest record of causewaying the streets of the burgh. At that date the provost, bailies, and council, with the deacons of crafts, finding that there was nothing of the "commowne guddis" or "common good" available for the purpose, agreed to impose a tax of two hundred pounds on the inhabitants to pay a contract they had concluded for two years to come. The tax was payable in two instalments, at the first of January following and "at Beltane nixt." The ancient festival of Baal-fire Day, the second of May, was evidently not yet forgotten in Glasgow.²

⁹ *Burgh Records*, i. 45.

¹ *Ibid.* i. 282.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* i. 60, 62, 65.

² *Ibid.* i. 64.

Neither was the last authentic relic of Glasgow's patron saint, for on the same day the city fathers purchased from John Muir and Andrew Lang, for the sum of ten pounds and a burgess ticket to the latter, "the auld bell that yed throw the towne of auld at the buriall of the deid," in other words, as named in the rubric to the entry, St. Mungo's bell, and they ordained the bell to remain in all time coming the common dead-bell of the burgh.³

The causeway-maker was evidently a piece of precious goods, if he was not, indeed, a serf or chattel like the colliers and salt-makers. The provost, Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill, and his bailies solemnly obliged themselves to restore and deliver to the provost and bailies of Dundee at the following Michaelmas, without fraud or colour of any sort, Walter Brown, the causeway-maker, whom they had borrowed for their work.⁴

Proceedings which would startle the trade unions of to-day were the actions brought by deacons and brethren of crafts against the inefficiency of certain workmen. Thus in March, 1577, the deacons and craftsmen of the masons brought a complaint to the provost and council desiring to have John and William Ritchie interdicted from work, on the assertion that they were unable to hew. The city fathers took a less rigorous course. In case the Ritchies should require to build higher than a single storey of hewn work their efficiency was to be tested by a committee of craftsmen and councillors. With this provision they were licensed to work, and, should the deacon be agreeable, to pay their fees and be admitted to the craft.⁵

As one of the obligations of their citizenship the burgesses were, of course, liable to be called out to fight; every man of substance was required to keep himself furnished with a

³ *Burgh Records*, i. 64.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 69.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 66.

hagbut, powder, and bullets; the less prosperous were to have each a long spear, and all were to possess jack, steel bonnet, sword, and buckler. The annual review or wapin-schaw at the Summerhill must have been a sight to see. The town had its own ensign or battle flag, which was carefully kept by the bailies in office.⁶

Tradesmen's contracts, again, were more solemn affairs in those days than now. In the summer of 1577, for instance, the town council recorded in its court book a contract between the Earl of Eglinton and George Elphinston, glass-wright, by which the latter undertook to renew and keep in repair, all the days of his life, the glass-work at the earl's houses of Ardrossan, Eglinton, Polnoon, Glasgow, Irvine, and Cumbræ, the earl to furnish the material and transport, with two bolls of meal and a stone of cheese per annum, as well as his meat on occasion, and the blown-down glass and lead.⁷

The perambulation of the burgh marches each year at Whitsun Tuesday was an ancient ceremony which the burgesses were beginning to neglect, and in June, 1578, the provost and bailies issued an order that all the councillors and deacons should accompany them on the occasion on penalty of a fine of eight shillings.⁸

While this early custom has long fallen into desuetude, another has grown into greater consequence with time—the conferring of the freedom of the burgh upon notable persons as a mark of honour. In Glasgow, as early as 6th October, 1579, a “reverend father,” John, bishop of the Isles, and Alan M’Cowle of Ragary, were in this way made burgesses and freemen of the city “gratis.”⁹ Twenty years later Fletcher, Shakespeare’s future partner at the Globe, was, while visiting Aberdeen with his company, made a freeman of that city.

On the other hand, with persons of objectionable reputation

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. 67, 96.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 67.

⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 69.

⁹ *Ibid.* i. 76.

the city fathers had a way that was no doubt equally impressive. Bessie Brown and Marion Young, for example, having confessed to being mansworn, were ordered to "abstract" themselves from the burgh and barony in all time coming, and they gave their consent that, if found within its bounds, they should, without more ado, be drowned.¹⁰

Mention has already been made in these pages of the feud between the Stewart party and the Elphinstone party in the government of the burgh. The chief mover in the matter, was Mathew Stewart of Minto, who on 4th October, 1580, produced letters from the king and the archbishop appointing the king's cousin, Esme Stewart, Earl of Lennox, Lord Darnley and Aubigne, to be provost. At the same time Mathew Stewart had himself made a member of the town council. A fortnight later he produced a letter from the Secret Council stating that George Elphinstone, William Cunningham, and Robert Rowat had demitted office as bailies at the king's request, and that Robert Stewart, Hector Stewart, and John Graham had been nominated in their room. Next day Elphinstone recorded a protest, which of course effected nothing, and the Stewart party settled down to enjoy the sweets of office. That these sweets were not entirely unsubstantial is shown by the fact that on 28th January following the three prebends of St. Andrew, St. Martin, and Trium Puerorum in the Tron Kirk, which had fallen into the hands of the town council through the death of the incumbent, Sir Robert Watson, were given to the son of John Graham, one of the new bailies, "for his sustentatioun at the scholes." The prebends were worth twenty pounds yearly, and the whole business appears as an example of the art of "wire-pulling" from which bodies entrusted with the management of public affairs were not even then exempt.¹

On coming into power, the Stewart faction apparently

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, i. 77.

¹ *Ibid.* i. 79, 81, 83.

proceed to purge the roll of burgesses in drastic fashion. At the instance of the common procurator a number of individuals were summoned to answer the charge that, though they were freemen and burgesses, they neither dwelt nor had houses in the city, and took no part in scat and lot, walking and warding, and underlying the other duties required by the oath. Eighteen of those challenged found security for the due performance of the required services, but other three, who lived at Cathcart, failed to appear, though summoned at the cross, and were accordingly declared to have forfeited their burgh-ship.²

The Stewart party also proceeded to appoint a new town clerk, Archibald Hegate, who duly inscribes himself in the minutes as "presented and admitted thereto by a noble and potent lord, Esme, Earl of Lennox, Lord Darnley, Dalkeith, Aubigne, etc., provost, and with authority and command of the King's majesty to that effect."³

Alas! under this complaisant entry there appears interpolated another, dated nine years later, when the city fathers felt themselves in a less subservient mood, to the effect that the act was deleted by command of the provost, bailies, and whole council, who were absolutely entitled to elect their own town clerk.⁴

Meanwhile the new party in power proceeded actively to reverse the acts of its predecessors. It rescinded the ordinance that the burgesses should pay milling charges to the town's mills for the grinding of all their grain, whether ground at these mills or not; and, to make the matter doubly sure, it declared that in all time coming it would be unlawful to thirl the freemen and burgesses of the city in such fashion.⁵

No notice is contained in the burgh records of the traditional episode in which the townsmen are said to have clamoured

² *Burgh Records*, i. 83.

³ *Infra*, p. 183.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, i. 84, 146; *infra*, p. 184.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, i. 87.

for the destruction of the cathedral, and the prudent provost, Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill, to have replied that he quite agreed with the suggestion, but would defer the carrying of it out till a new kirk had been built in its place. The first actual notice of the cathedral occurs on 10th December, 1581, when the superintendent and kirk members bring the ruinous and decaying conditions of the edifice to the notice of the council. As a result, on 27th February, 1582-3 the provost, bailies, council, and deacons resolved, without binding themselves in any way for the future, to undertake the complete repair of the building. It seems clear that from first to last the citizens of Glasgow had an enlightened pride in their ancient cathedral, and were less moved by the iconoclastic ideas of the Reformation than the eastern communities of Scotland.⁶

Curious light upon the perils of the seas with which the Scottish commerce of the days of James VI. had to contend is thrown by an application made to the magistrates of Glasgow in August, 1583. A burgess of Renfrew and two merchants, it would appear, had complained to the king that their bark, on its way to the fishing in Loch Foyle, had been attacked off the Irish coast by a birlinn and "great boat" belonging to the prior of Colonsay and manned by fifty or more robbers, broken men, and sorners. In the attack Somerville, the burgess, had been shot through the arm with "ane flukit arrow," while one of his crew had been shot in the thigh with a dart, another had been struck in the mouth with a sword, another had been shot through the hand and "metulat of his formest fingare, etc." The pirates had further plundered the ship of a somewhat curious cargo for a fishing vessel—seven puncheons of wine, value £80, three score gallons of aquavitæ at 40s. per gallon, six pounds of saffron at £10, two barrels of madder and two of alum worth £40, £6, and 14s.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. 92.

sterling, twelve pieces of ordnance worth £40, powder and bullets worth £16, seventeen single-handed and two double-handed swords, a dozen steel bonnets price £40, a habergeon price £20, four hogsheads of drinking beer worth altogether 20 merks, four hogsheads of salt of the same value, and clothing worth £40. Complaint had been made to the king and the Privy Council, who had ordered the provosts and bailies of burghs within the shires of Lanark, Renfrew, Dunbarton, Ayr, and Stirling to arrest the bodies and goods of the reivers should they appear within their bounds. The prior, Malcolm Macilfie, with his boat and crew, were actually lying, it seems, at the bridge at Glasgow, and complainers and defenders together appeared before the bailies of Glasgow. Their method of deciding the case was, with the consent of both parties, to refer the whole matter to the "great oath" of the said Malcolm Macilfie. Thereupon this individual upon his "great oath" declared that he had neither art nor part in the act of piracy complained of, nor so much as knew anything about it. The bailies thereupon absolved him from the claim for ever. Implicit, evidently, was the trust reposed in the "great oath" of the Prior of Colonsay.⁷

It would be interesting to know whether some of the by-laws made by the town council at the close of the sixteenth century remain in force at the present hour. One of these decreed that if any member of the council transgressed the town's statutes he should incur double the ordinary penalty. Another declared that no bridal within the burgh should cost more than a penny, and that any person who attended a more costly wedding, or countenanced such surfeit, should pay a fine of eight shillings.⁸

In the records of the burgh court there is a remarkable infrequency of petty crimes. Some reason for this probably lay in the fact that the punishments were of the personal

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 105.

⁸ *Ibid.* i. 106.

kind which at all periods have been most disliked by criminals. Imprisonment in the tolbooth was probably a much more disagreeable experience than the hydropathic holiday afforded in the city's prisons in the twentieth century, but the worthy bailies of the sixteenth century did not evidently care to burden the community with the support of lawbreakers even in the tolbooth. They preferred to take their punishment out of the offender's own skin and be done with it. Thus a certain John Hunter convicted of cutting purses at Ayr and Glasgow was considerably dealt with. In view of his youth, and the possibility that he might amend his ways, he was ordered to be burnt on the shoulder with a hot iron, scourged through the town, and then banished from burgh and barony. The experience probably convinced him, as the lash has convinced the garotter in more recent times, that the pursuit of crime as a profession was unattractive.⁹

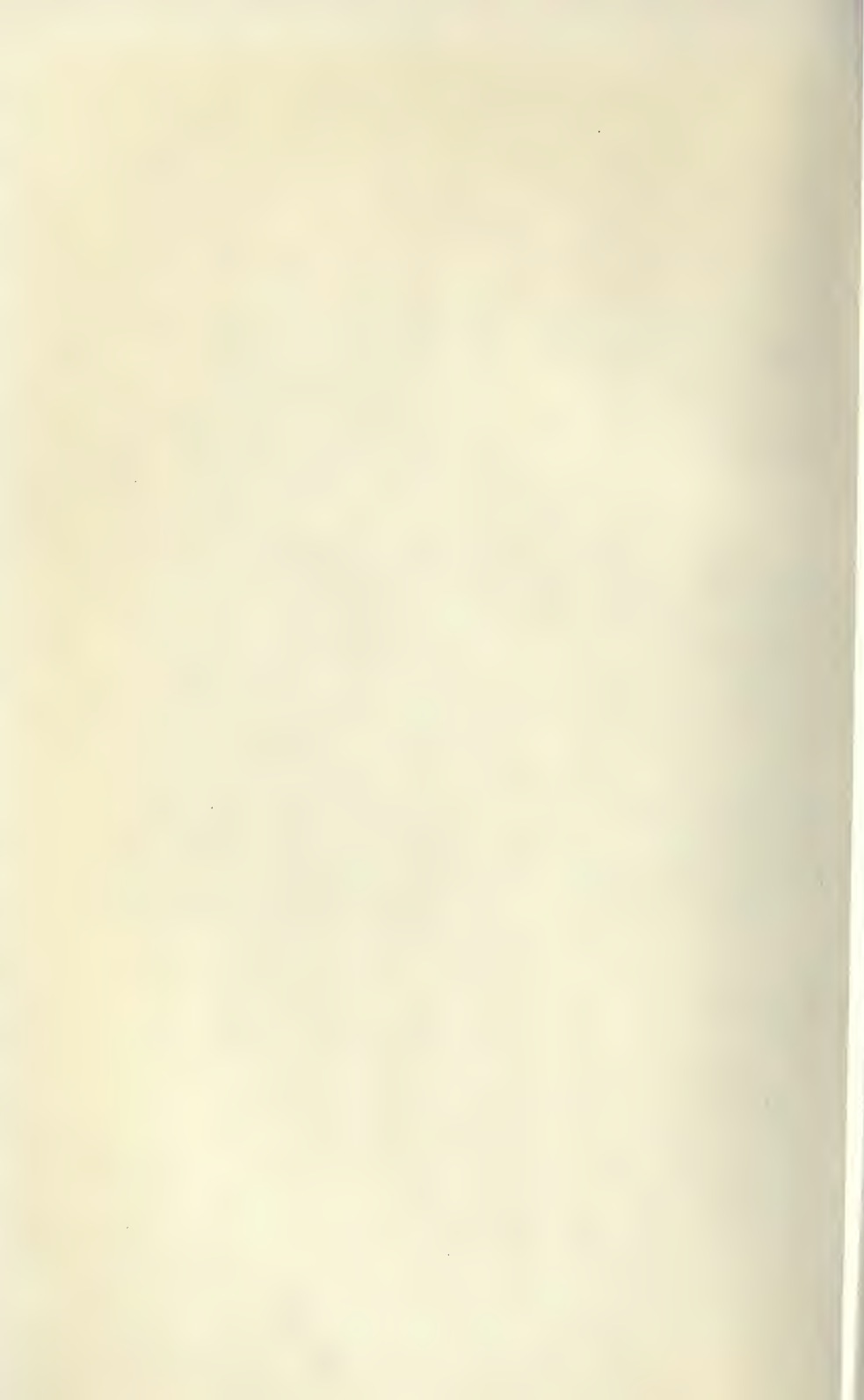
Imprisonment was at that date a really dreadful experience, very different from what it has become in recent times; and imprisonment in the tolbooth of Glasgow was no exception to the rule. Both sexes and all sorts of misdemeanants were herded together in cold and filth, and while those who had means might purchase better fare from the jailor, the ordinary prisoners were forced to sustain life on the coarsest viands. Still more wretched than the cells of the tolbooth at the cross appears to have been the prison in the upper part of the town mentioned as the "heich tolbooth" in the records of 1574. In 1605 a certain John Greenlees had been warded in the latter at the instance of Alexander Dunlop for a debt of a hundred merks and ten merks expenses. By way of relief his brother James appeared before the magistrates and secured his transference to the "laich tolbooth," becoming security at the same time that the prisoner would remain in ward till he had paid his debt.¹⁰ The old tolbooth was evidently

⁹ *Burgh Records*, i. 91.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 228.



GLASGOW TOLBOOTH, 1626.



becoming frail and insecure. As a matter of fact, a prisoner shortly afterwards did escape from it. One Thomas Neill, cordiner, was fined for breaking ward, coming down the tolbooth stair, and severely wounding John Tours on the head with a whinger.¹

Some of the punishments inflicted at that time were of singularly disagreeable and mortifying sort. Thus, for a serious slander upon Margaret Fleming one Janet Foreside was ordered to have the gyves put on her hands and the branks in her mouth, and in this condition to stand as long as Margaret Fleming chose, then on the following Sunday to sit on the stool of repentance in the High Kirk, publicly confess that her words were entirely false, and ask the forgiveness of God, the congregation, and the injured Margaret.² For further control of evil-tongued women the town council ordered a pair of joughs to be set up in 1589.³ Even more dreadful, probably, was the "pit," or bottle dungeon of the castle, from which the bailies, council, and deacons in 1584, by a sort of Habeas Corpus ordinance, rescued a certain townsman, John Park, who had been laid by the heels there without their authority.⁴ Convicted thieves, again, were liable to be marked in unmistakable fashion. On 24th August, 1599, George Mitchell, confessing theft, was banished from the town, and sentenced if ever he should return, to be burnt on the shoulder and cheek, "and to want ane lug out of his heid."⁵

Provision against the plague from which Scotland suffered from 1584 till 1588 ran the city into debt. This with other expenses which had gone before amounted to six hundred pounds. Being unable otherwise to find the money, the

¹ *Burgh Records*, i, 230, 234.

² *Ibid.* i. 109.

³ *Ibid.* 138.

⁴ *Ibid.* At Cathcart Castle, near Glasgow, there still exists a bottle dungeon into which prisoners were lowered from the first floor of the stronghold.

⁵ *Ibid.* 349.

council resolved to feu out as much of the common land to the east and west of the city as would realize that amount. The necessary land was accordingly measured off, stobbed, and disposed of by roup or auction to the highest bidders.⁶

At the same time, the town continued to extend, and on the west-port becoming ruinous, in 1588, it was with very evident satisfaction that the council unanimously agreed to remove it further west to the head of the Stockwell, so as to include an entirely new street and houses extending in that direction.⁷ In the following year, in laying off a plot of ground twenty-four feet wide and three roods deep, abutting on the new gateway, which had been sold to Robert Chirneside, the bailies stipulated that the tenement to be erected should have no windows below the level of the first floor joists, except slits six inches wide, which were to be stanchioned. The need for defence was clearly still a consideration.⁸

That such precautions were not without reason was shown by a requisition made to the town council shortly afterwards. It was the year after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and the Government of England was still apprehensive of attack by the Catholic Powers. It was known that the Catholic nobles of the north of Scotland, Huntly and Errol, were restless, and Elizabeth's minister sent to the Scottish king what purported to be copies of letters addressed by these earls to Philip of Spain acknowledging subsidies and asking the loan of troops to overthrow the Scottish Government. The whole north of Scotland was rumoured to be on the eve of revolt, and in the south the turbulent Earl of Bothwell was said to have threatened to ravage the lowlands if the king moved to attack Huntly. In this emergency James, then twenty-two years of age, acted with the same promptitude as his mother had shown in similar circumstances. He instantly assembled an army, marched by Perth and Brechin

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. 121, 124, 126, 127.

⁷ *Ibid.* 125.

⁸ *Ibid.* 151.

to Aberdeen, and brought Huntly back a prisoner in his train.⁹ In this expedition Glasgow played a part. The king asked for three score of hagbutters from the town, and the council, pleading poverty, sent fifty, and taxed the citizens five hundred pounds for the expense.¹⁰ It is pleasant to know that the warriors sent by the town did well, and were commended to the provost by the king. Each man was paid ten shillings per day for his services, and on the return of the contingent a hundred merks were voted for their gratification, while their officers, William Stewart and Thomas Pettigrew, were to be "gratified" separately at the discretion of the provost and bailies.¹ On another requisition being made in the month of June, however, a deputation was sent to the king at Hamilton to endeavour to secure exemption for the town.²

Nearly twenty years later, in the summer of 1608, the war-like abilities of the citizens were again put to the test. For the expedition to the Isles under Lord Ochiltree, Glasgow contributed a ship full of provisions and liquor, along with thirty hagbutters under command of John Stirling, deacon of the hammermen. Each soldier on this occasion was paid fifteen pounds Scots per month, and the captain forty pounds.³

Bankruptcy proceedings were, on occasion, conducted by the town council in most orderly fashion. A merchant, Guthrie Howie, having been challenged and arrested by his creditors, appeared before the city fathers in 1589. He duly acknowledged the debts, and declared his inability to pay, but craved that two honest merchants, with two of the bailies and the clerk of the court should visit his booth or shop and value his goods and book debts, and he offered to pay every creditor at once half the amount owing, and the other half as soon as God should send him goods. To this arrangement the creditors agreed, and the provost and bailies interponed their authority.⁴

⁹ Tytler's *History of Scotland* under date 1589.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, i. 131.

¹ *Ibid.* i. 135.

² *Ibid.* 139.

³ *Ibid.* 283-287.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 134.

An interesting feature of Glasgow at that time must have been the dovecots belonging to the citizens. The upholding of these was considered to be for the public good, and there were Acts of Parliament in existence for the protection of dovecots throughout the country. In 1589, however, certain evil-disposed persons had taken to shooting the pigeons and raiding the dovecots round the city, and one on the Green, belonging to Marion Scott and Robert Chirnside, had suffered especially. So great was the damage that the council sent the drum round the town, forbidding the shooting of the birds and breaking of the dovecots, under severe penalties.⁵

Even in those Reformation times the city was not without its recreations. The playing of football was so far countenanced by the authorities that on 31st January, 1589, they made a bargain with a certain John Neill, cordiner, to supply six footballs every Fastern's Even during his lifetime, for which he was made a burgess without payment of fees.⁶ Nor were the ancient festivals of pre-Reformation and even pre-Christian times altogether forgotten. In June, 1590, the mort and skellat bells and the puntership were let for a year to George Johnston for the sum of sixty pounds, payable one-third at once, one-third at Luke's-mass, and one-third at Beltane.⁷ Still more significant was an order of the town council in February, 1600, in accordance with a royal proclamation prohibiting the fleshers of the city from killing or selling any flesh in time of Lent. Any flesh thus sold was to be escheated, and the user of it banished from the town.⁸

In 1594 for the first time, for the purpose of administering the town's statutes, the city was divided into four quarters and a bailie appointed to each. The quarters were divided by the line of High Street and Saltmarket, and the line of Gallowgate and Trongate.⁹

⁵ *Burgh Records*, i. 143.

⁶ *Ibid.* 149.

⁷ *Ibid.* 153.

⁸ *Ibid.* 203.

⁹ *Ibid.* 157.

In curious contrast to the spirit of more modern times, the representation of the city in Parliament received only very slight consideration. Thus on 8th March, 1594-5, the town council ordained Robert Rowat, bailie, and James Bell, to attend the Convention of Burghs to be held in Edinburgh on the 11th of that month, and the parliament to be held on the 17th. A commission was made out for them, and a daily payment was allowed of 26s. 8d. to the bailie and 20s. to "the said James" for the time they should remain away.¹⁰

The city fathers evidently felt that, while affairs of State hardly touched them, the matter of real importance was the keeping of order within their own bounds. Thus a few days later, to put down a plague of night walkers, who prevented people going about their lawful business, it was ordained that eight citizens should watch nightly from eleven till three in the morning or longer. The watchers were to provide themselves with sufficient armour, and non-appearance entailed a fine of twenty shillings.¹

At the same time they were a loyal folk, the citizens of that day, and for bringing the "glaid tydens" of the birth of a prince on 18th June, 1595, they made a worthy blacksmith, John Duncan, a burgess gratis. John had bruised his horse in his strenuous endeavour to be first with the news.²

Another event which about the same time made a considerable stir in the city was the procuring or recasting of the great bell for the cathedral. For this a special "extent" or tax, amounting to seven hundred pounds, was levied on all the inhabitants. Including the metal of the old bell the town paid Arthur Allan altogether for the new possession the sum of £1,002 os. 4d.³

At times the town seems to have been apprehensive of becoming burdened with an inflow of beggars. In 1595 the town council passed a by-law ordering all beggars who had

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 162. ¹ *Ibid.* 163. ² *Ibid.* 167. ³ *Ibid.* 165, 169, 182.

not been five years in the place to remove within forty-eight hours, under pain of scourging through the town and burning on the cheek. At the same time the inhabitants were forbidden to receive or lodge any stranger beggar on pain of banishment for a year and a day.⁴

A vast difference might have been made in the character and fortunes of Glasgow if a proposal made in 1596 had been carried out. This was nothing less than a suggestion from the Government that the Court of Session and College of Justice might be transplanted to the western city. The Corporation was asked to state what it was prepared to offer for the transference. The council unanimously declared that the city could make no contribution in money, but was prepared to offer its services. These services, whatever they might be worth, proved an insufficient inducement, and the courts of law remained in Edinburgh.⁵

Even before the end of the sixteenth century the shipping of Glasgow was by no means inconsiderable. On 28th April, 1597, there were entered eight vessels of twenty-one and a half to three score tons, from places as far away as Pittenweem, Aberdeen, and Dundee. Most of the vessels belonged to Glasgow itself, and on 22nd May was entered the largest of these, of ninety-two tons.⁶

Scarcity of provisions and the fear of actual famine were naturally not infrequent in days when most of the land of the country was unreclaimed and so much of what remained was common pasture. On these occasions the city fathers took peremptory measures against forestalling and hoarding of foodstuffs. Buying and selling of foodstuffs were forbidden, except in the open market, all export of provisions was declared unlawful, and no one was allowed to purchase more than sufficed for the immediate needs of his household.⁷

⁴ *Burgh Records*, i. 174.

⁵ *Ibid.* 183.

⁶ *Ibid.* 187.

⁷ *Ibid.* 189.

Salt was then a valuable commodity, being mostly obtained by the evaporation of sea-water in open pans. Upon occasion the town council seems to have bought it in quantity and allotted his portion to each citizen. On these occasions the drum was sent round, and those who did not come to claim and pay for their portions were liable to imprisonment.⁸

One of the most active movers in the affairs of the city at that time was Thomas Pettigrew. We have seen how he came into notice first as one of the officers who commanded the small Glasgow levy sent to join the king's army in its expedition against Huntly and Errol in the north. His efficiency on that occasion was rewarded with a " gratification " in the shape of a burgess' fine. In the years that followed he took a more and more prominent, and always practical, part in the city's business, both as master of works and as an enterprising private citizen, acting on many committees and commissions of trust. One of his most interesting speculations took place in 1599. At that time the granting of burgess privileges gratis had become a serious abuse. While it meant a serious loss to the town it was a proceeding which the provost and bailies found difficult to resist. In this emergency Thomas Pettigrew saw at once a means of relief for the magistrates and a source of profit for himself. No doubt at his initiative the council agreed to lease the revenue from burgess fees to the highest bidder. This was done in the tolbooth, and the fees were leased to Pettigrew for three years for two hundred and sixty merks yearly. At the same time it was declared unlawful either for the magistrates or the tacksman to admit burgesses gratis or at a lower fee than was ordained by the by-laws.⁹ It would be interesting to know what profit Pettigrew made on his speculation. In view of his evident shrewdness it may be concluded that the sum he offered was considerably less than the actual receipts of the town from burgess fees.

⁸ *Ibid.* 189.

⁹ *Ibid.* 197, 198.

Dunbarton, holding the gateway of Glasgow's sea-going trade, remained a serious menace to the city's mercantile development. In December, 1599, some of the merchants who had salmon to export to France and other foreign ports, appealed to the town council for protection against the Captain of Dunbarton, who had placed a new impost of twenty pounds on each last of the cured fish shipped from the river. Recognizing the hurt to the city's trade which this would cause, the council appointed a commissioner to ride to Edinburgh with one of the merchants, to interview the Duke of Lennox and the provost, Sir Matthew Stewart of Minto, on the subject.¹⁰

A great work of the last years of the sixteenth century was the causewaying of the streets of the city. Constantly extra revenue of all sorts was devoted to this purpose, and the work was pushed steadily forward. The townsfolk were prohibited from leaving middens on the newly paved streets, and labour was even commandeered for certain thoroughfares. On 28th March, 1600, every householder in the town was warned by sound of drum to send one person to the work of causewaying the thoroughfare at the Green under pain of a fine of 6s. 8d. Thus apparently was the present Great Clyde Street laid down.¹

Among minor matters, the minstrels of the town appear to have given fairly constant trouble. A drummer and a piper were officially employed and provided with uniform,² and injunctions are again and again recorded in the council records, ordering them to refrain from misbehaviour of various kinds. Sometimes they neglected their duties by going out of town to play at weddings and other festivities, and at home they were apt to be objectionable in various ways. Apparently they lived pretty much at large upon the townsmen, and were

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, i. 200.

¹ *Ibid.* 204.

² *Ibid.* 50, 194, 454, 458.

inclined to presume upon their privileges.³ They had to be warned to take neither boy nor dog with them when they were entertained to "ordiner" or dinner, to refrain from soliciting silver from their hosts, and to make no complaints as to the fare. They were also to refrain from "extraordinar" drinking, and to work twenty days at causewaying. It is clear that in their hands, in the days of James VI., the minstrel art had fallen to very low repute.⁴

Another city official of questionable repute was the common hangman. Evidently there was no competition for his post. In January, 1605, one John M'Clelland was banished from the town on suspicion of theft, and on the understanding, agreed to by himself, that if found again in Glasgow he should be hanged. In September, however, he returned, took again to theft, and was caught. The town at this moment, fortunately for him, was "desolat of ane executour," and instead of putting the rascal to death, as they might justly have done, the council appointed him to the post, with the stipulation that if ever he forsook office he should himself be hanged without further trial. Evidently the hangman was an object of common obloquy, for at the time of M'Clelland's appointment the council ordained that if any one, young or old, "abuisis the said John, ather be word or deid," he should be liable to a fine of five pounds.⁵

The musical reputation and culture of Glasgow at that time, however, happily did not depend entirely upon disreputable individuals. Among the elaborate preparations for the king's visit to the city on 1st September, 1600, appears an instruction to John Buchanan to be present on the cross with all his singers.⁶

³ The citizens were only relieved of the duty of feeding the "menstralis" in 1605, as amends for the levying of a tax of ten shillings each for payment of the causeway builders (*Records*, i. 240).

⁴ *Burgh Records*, i. 207, 208.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 234.

⁶ *Ibid.* 211.

On that great occasion the inhabitants were ordered to clear all their middens, timber, and stones off the streets on pain of a fine of five pounds. All men were to hold themselves ready to turn out to meet the king in sufficient armour, with hagbuts, jacks, spears, and steel bonnets, and otherwise in best array. In particular, no man was to wear such an unceremonious head-dress as a blue bonnet. The council and deacons were to accompany the bailies, and there were to be bonfires in the evening. The occasion was further celebrated by the conferring of the freedom of the burgh upon seven of His Majesty's attendants, and upon a number of local notables who graced the proceedings with their presence.⁷ It was only some three weeks since the king had escaped from the hands of the conspirators at Gowrie House, and the welcome given to him in Glasgow was no doubt all the more enthusiastic on that account. The same thing was done on the occasion of the king's visit on 1st September in the following year, no fewer than forty-three persons receiving the freedom at that time.⁸

The methods of taxation in those times may have been somewhat clumsier and more difficult of adjustment than the methods of the present day, but they had the merit of bringing home to each citizen the actual cost of State enterprises. As a result, we find no record of demands that expensive works and ventures should be undertaken by the Government. If they called any such tune the burgesses were well aware that they themselves would be called upon to pay the piper. The fact had a salutary restraining effect which is absent when people have reason to believe that the cost of the enterprises they advocate will be taken out of the pocket of someone else. The plan followed in James VI.'s time was for Parliament to vote a sum of money, and to assign to each burgh and county the amount it must contribute. The

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 211.

⁸ *Ibid.* 225.

whole proceeding is made clear by an entry in the Glasgow council records of 14th March, 1601. The provost, bailies, and council on that occasion ordered certain persons to be apprised of a taxation of "VIII^c lib" (£40 stg.) as their part in a levy of one hundred thousand merks made at the last convention of Parliament and a sum required for repairing the Grammar School, and their part also of a sum of one thousand merks required from the burghs for a certain mission to Flanders and elsewhere.⁹ Naturally enough, the stenter or tax-gatherer was no more popular then than now, and special injunctions for his protection from slander and ill-usage had to be made from time to time.¹⁰

On at least one occasion an attempt was made by certain individuals to evade taxation. In 1605, in compliance with the king's desire to effect a union of the Parliaments of Scotland and England, commissioners were appointed by the Scottish Government to proceed to England to treat on the matter. For their expenses the burghs were "stented" or taxed. In Glasgow, however, the two "stenters" complained to the council that certain persons refused to pay and pretended to be exempt. These included "medicineris, chirurgiounis, barbouris, procuratouris, messingeris, notteris, and sic vtheris." On that occasion the council took prompt action, declared that all who enjoyed the freedom of the burgh must pay, and that in case of refusal they be "hornit, poindit, or wairdit thairfor."¹

Another entry in the council records of that year shows the dim beginning of a consciousness that it would be better for the different burghs of the kingdom to forgo mutually their fiscal war one against another. The entry runs that, with a view to improving friendliness between Glasgow and Dunbarton, the burgesses of Dunbarton resorting to Glasgow to sell goods should not be required to pay customs dues, provided the

⁹ *Burgh Records*, i. 218, 273.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 273.

¹ *Ibid.* 241.

Dunbarton authorities granted the same privilege to the burgesses and other inhabitants of Glasgow.²

A few days after the passing of this amicable resolution, in June, 1601, a serious fire broke out among the wooden houses and thatched roofs of the city. On that occasion an example was afforded of the public spirit which has from the first been an outstanding characteristic of Glasgow. A public meeting was forthwith convened, and the bailies, council, deacons, and minister organized a house-to-house collection throughout the town for funds to help the sufferers. At the same time a public enquiry was made regarding the origin of the fire, which had started in the smiddy of one James Leishman. After careful examination, however, it was concluded that neither Leishman nor his servants were to blame, but that the fire had proceeded from the providence of God.³

The provost of that time, Sir George Elphinstone of Blythwood, was a *persona grata* at court. On his appointment by the Duke of Lennox in the previous year he had brought with him a letter from the king recommending him to the council. In consequence, he appears to have lived a good deal in Edinburgh. A pleasant incident was the invitation he sent to the council for one or two of them "to be gossips to him" at his daughter's baptism there on 22nd September. The council accordingly deputed William Wallace to ride thither, and gave him ten pounds (10s.) for his expenses, one eight merk piece for the nurse, and forty shillings (3s. 4d.) for the hire of a horse.⁴

In those days men were as tolerant of physical horrors as they were intolerant in matters of opinion, religious and otherwise—an attitude exactly the opposite of that of the twentieth century. Down to the year 1605 it was one of the ordinary sights of Glasgow to watch the butchers "hough kye on the causeway and slay cattle on the front street." In that year, however, the indecency and brutalizing effects of such opera-

² *Burgh Records*, i. 223.

³ *Ibid.* 224.

⁴ *Ibid.* 225.

tions in public seem to have occurred to the city fathers, and the butchers were forbidden to do these things except in houses or back yards.⁵

Among other amenities which the town had to protect and preserve for itself were the old rights-of-way and means of access. Again and again these were encroached upon by aggressive members of the community. Thus, in November, 1607, the bailies and council held a special meeting by the side of the Gallowgate Burn to deal with encroachments made by Gabriel Liston and James Pollok, cooper. The former had removed from the burn certain large boulders used as stepping-stones by men leading horses and carts across the water on the south side of the footbridge, and had narrowed the passage so that one cart could not pass another at the spot, while Pollok had taken away the steps and built up the passage by which the neighbours descended to the burn to draw water. Needless to say, the city fathers ordered the two worthies to restore stepping-stones and passages at once to their former condition.⁶

In 1608 the penalty of that extravagance in money matters which is so common among public bodies came upon the town. The council had managed to pile up a debt of thirteen thousand merks. Already there had been threats of putting the magistrates to the horn, and attempts had been made to borrow money in Edinburgh.⁷ On the trouble becoming acute the council made an offer to one of the city merchants, "John Bornis," to lease to him for a period of years the town mills, the customs of the ladles and bridge, and the revenue from burgh dues and common fines, in return for a payment of nine thousand merks, to be applied to the relief of the debt of the burgh. Burns proposed to accept this offer, the period to be eight years, or, without the mills, eleven years. Thereupon other two suggestions were made by councillors, one that the ladles and burgh dues be leased for a term of years for four thousand

⁵ *Burgh Records*, i. 230, 253.

⁶ *Ibid.* 272.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 264.

merks, the town's common land for other four thousand, and the town taxed for five thousand ; the other that the common land be leased for four thousand merks, to be used as ordinary income for the town's expenses, the burgesses being taxed for any deficiency, while the burgess dues and common fines should be handed over for a period of years to anyone who would relieve the town of its whole debt. After much debate none of these suggestions was adopted. Instead, the town secured a lease for ten years of the archbishop's mill at Partick, and of the water mills and man mill belonging to Stewart of Minto. The council decreed that all the inhabitants of Glasgow be suckened, thirled, or bound to these mills, to have all their victual ground at them alone. The mills—" the Auld Milne of Partick, the New Milne, the Auld Toun Milne, and the milnes perteaning to the Laird of Minto callit the Subdeanis Milnes (twa wattir milnes and ane man milne "—were then leased to George Anderson of Woodside and James Lightbody, visitor of the maltmen and mealmen, for a yearly payment of 4400 merks.⁸

It was this arrangement which, as already mentioned, was disputed by Sir George Elphinstone and led to considerable litigation and trouble.⁹ Strangely enough, it was directly contrary to the ordinance made by the same Stewart party in the town council in July 1581.¹⁰

In the winter of 1607 a great frost bound up the River Clyde and the harbour of Glasgow for sixteen weeks, so that no vessels could come up to the bridge. In consideration of this fact, and of the complete stoppage of the trade in herring, which was the only source of revenue to the lessee of the customs, the council agreed to remit the sum of forty pounds from the rent payable by him.¹

An outstanding public act of that time was the printing

⁸ *Burgh Records*, i. 274-281.

⁹ *Ibid.* 282, etc.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 87.

¹ *Ibid.* 290.

of the *Regiam Majestatem*, or collection of laws said to have been compiled by order of David I., King of Scotland, though its authenticity has been questioned in more recent times, and it has been characterised as merely an artifice of Edward I. in his endeavour to assimilate Scots law to the law of England. For that publication Glasgow was charged a hundred pounds by the Clerk Register. Because of their delay in raising this money by a tax the magistrates were in danger of horning, and to avoid that unpleasant experience they borrowed a hundred and six pounds in silver from William Burn, a merchant of the city, and settled the debt.²

Two months later another money difficulty threatened the town. The ministers of the burgh drew the attention of the magistrates to the dilapidation and threatening ruin of the cathedral. The council had no money in hand to devote to repairs. Among other resources an appeal to the king was suggested, also a levy upon the ancient common lands of the kirk, now owned by private gentlemen, but as the readiest means of securing funds it was resolved to appeal for voluntary subscriptions, at any rate until the return of "my lord of Glasgow," the archbishop, when other means might be considered.³ It was probably as a means of solving this difficulty that Archbishop Spottiswood, as already mentioned, granted a lease of the teinds of the parsonage and vicarage of Glasgow to the Master of Blantyre for an annual rent of 300 merks, and the cost of repairing the kirks, etc.⁴ Further, as we have also seen, in 1611, the archbishop himself began the roofing of the cathedral with lead.⁵

Still another kind of emergency which the magistrates and burgesses had to meet is exemplified by an incident which occurred in 1609. On a Friday, the 19th of May, the magistrates learned that, by an order of the Privy Council, the

² *Burgh Records*, i. 200.

³ *Ibid.* 301.

⁴ *Charters and Documents*, i. ; Abstract, p. 62.

⁵ *Supra*, page 136.

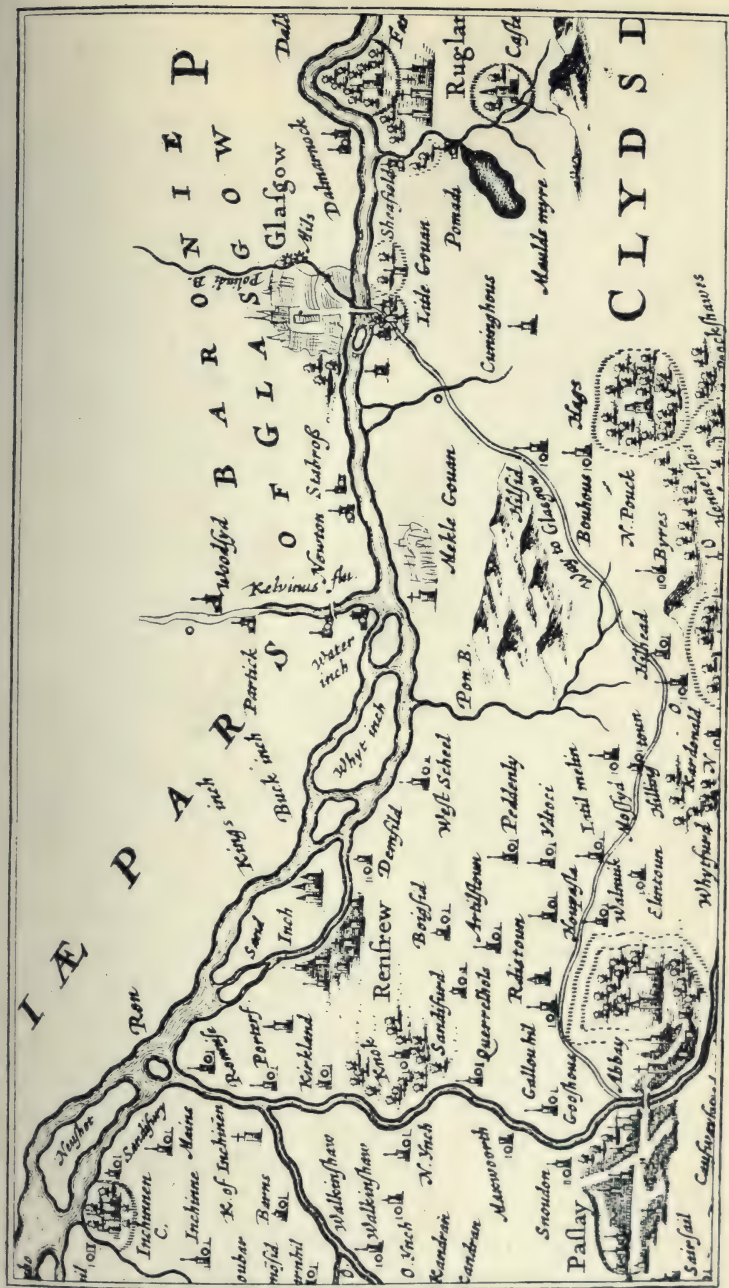
Earl of Glencairn and Lord Sempill, with their friends, were to meet in Glasgow on the Monday for the reconciliation of their deadly feud. Meetings of such a kind were notoriously apt to result in anything rather than the object proposed, and the magistrates were evidently determined to take no risks of an outbreak of hostilities in their burgh. Calling the council together at once, they arranged that a body of forty men armed with spears and swords, should be placed under the command of the provost, while the two bailies, each with a body of three score men similarly armed, should attend at the lodgings of the respective noblemen, and accompany them and their friends to and fro in their interviews with each other. At the same time the drum was sent through the town to warn all the inhabitants to hold their arms in readiness for any emergencies, and to meet the provost on the green on the Monday morning at seven o'clock.⁶ As no more is heard of the matter, the precautions appear to have been effectual.

No record remains of the actual ceremony on such occasions as the celebration of the king's birthday, but the magistrates did not let the occasion pass without some sort of hospitality. The conviviality was evidently an out-of-door affair, for one comes upon such accounts as a sum of £16 10s. "for expenses of wyne and confeitis at the Croce vpone the fyfte of Julj, the Kingis day, my Lord of Glasgu being present with sindrie vthir honorabil men."⁷ Disapproval of such hospitalities, and the grimmer view of life and religious observances, seem to have been a growth of a later day, of the time of Cromwell and the Puritan invasion.

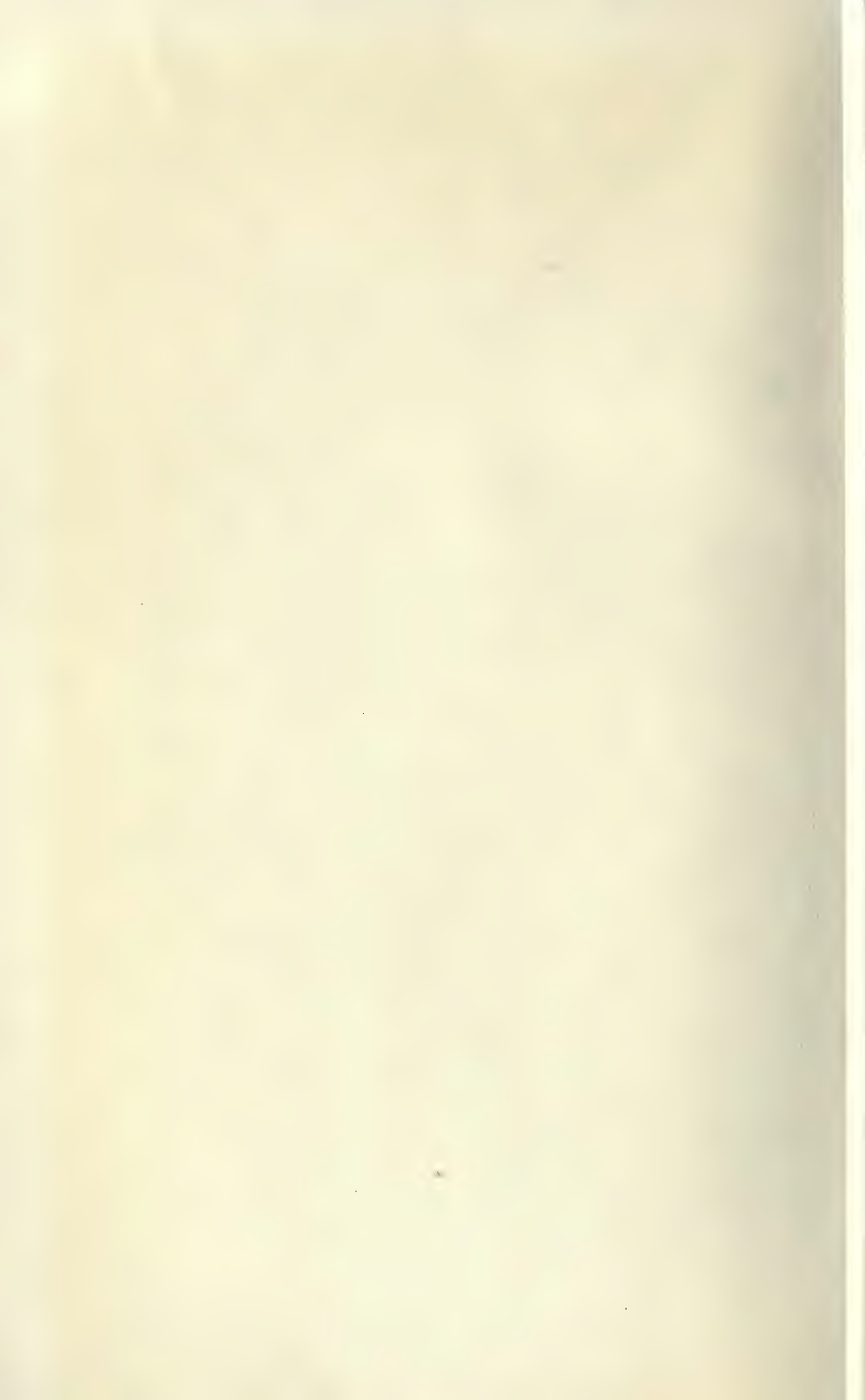
In 1609 an important change took place in the personality of the chief magistrate of the burgh. Till that year it had been customary for the archbishop to nominate and the council to elect to the provostship some neighbouring laird or person of consequence, like Stewart of Minto or Houston of that Ilk

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. 302.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 303.



THE CLYDE AT AND BELOW GLASGOW, c. 1650.



or Elphinstone of Blythswood. An Act of Parliament now, however, ordained that within all burghs the office of provost should be held by "an actual resident burghess and trafficker." Following this Act, in 1609, James Inglis, merchant, was recommended by the archbishop and elected provost by the council,⁸ and to the present day the rule has been followed. In the face of this Act, it seems doubtful whether the attempt which has been made in recent years, at places like Rothesay and Kirkcaldy, to revive the old custom by electing some magnate of the neighbourhood to the provostship, is a strictly legal proceeding.

Another proceeding on the strict legality of which an ordinance of that time might be taken to throw some doubt is the conferring of "the freedom of the city" without charge on persons whom the magistrates may wish to honour. In 1609 the attention of the council was drawn to the loss suffered by the community from the increasing habit of admitting burgesses gratis, and of making grants to individuals, by way of honoraria, for services done, of the fees of one or more new burgesses. To stop this abuse it was declared that no more burgesses were to be admitted without payment of the full fees to the city treasurer in public in the ordinary Dean of Guild Court. For these fees the Dean of Guild himself was made responsible, as well as for the five merks payable out of each new burgess' fee to the two hospitals. At the same time the provost, bailies, and council gave up the rights of themselves and their successors in office to certain of these fees, and agreed that instead, in all time coming, money payments should be made of £40 to the provost, £20 to each bailie, and £15 each to the clerk, master of works, and treasurer. If any burgess was admitted otherwise his admission was to be null and void.⁹

Constantly in the town council records and the Acts of Parlia-

⁸ *Burgh Records*, i. 304.

⁹ *Ibid.* i. 305.

ment of those years one comes upon ordinances against trading "in great," or by wholesale. From these Acts and ordinances it is evident that modern ideas as to the ultimate benefit to the community of liberty to buy in the cheapest and to sell in the dearest market were not understood. All exports from the burgh seem to have been considered a loss, and one has difficulty in understanding how the merchants of Glasgow ever managed to develop a foreign trade. An instance of this short-sighted policy was an Act of the Scottish Parliament forbidding the export of tallow. This Act certain merchants of the city found means of circumventing, under colour of their freedom as burgesses to trade in the burgh, and they were evidently in the way of establishing a thriving business when the town council stepped in. It was pointed out that while the merchants were exporting tallow their neighbours were in need of it for household use. It does not seem to have occurred to the city fathers that these neighbours could secure the tallow for themselves by paying a better price, and that the merchants who exported it were doing the country a service by securing a higher price for it abroad. Accordingly, it was "statut and ordanit" that no one in the town should buy tallow wholesale to render or melt, on pain of a hundred pound fine, and that no one should export it on pain of confiscation.¹⁰ No doubt that settled the business.

More rational was an ordinance made against abuse of the river. The shipmasters who brought their vessels up to the Broomielaw for cargoes of coal, herring, and salmon, had developed a habit of unceremoniously throwing their ballast overboard. This proceeding threatened in course of time to render navigation impossible. The council therefore made a by-law forbidding the dumping of ballast in the waterway, and ordering that it be laid forty feet above flood-mark, on pain of a fine of five pounds and such other punishment as the

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, i. 306.

council might inflict.¹ This is one of the earliest evidences of interest taken by the magistrates in maintaining the navigable channel of the Clyde. An earlier occasion was that of the year 1600, when the magistrates procured an order of the Privy Council permitting them to apply certain river and bridge dues to uphold the High Kirk, repair the bridge, make causeways on the green, and remove sand from the harbour channel.²

But the interest of Glasgow in the river was to be quickened almost immediately by action from another quarter. On 13th December, 1609, the burgh of Dunbarton obtained from King James a charter which it proceeded to interpret as giving it a complete monopoly of trade on the river. On 5th March following, Glasgow town council discussed the situation and resolved to fight the question. It instructed the provost, James Inglis, and the common procurator, George Hutcheson, to consult counsel in Edinburgh, and lay before them an array of documents, from the charter of King Alexander downwards, proving the right of Glasgow to free navigation of the river.³

In twelve days the provost was back with his evidents.⁴ Apparently the men of law advised a friendly settlement, for successive meetings of representatives of the two burghs were arranged to be held on 11th April and 16th June.⁵ These meetings failed to effect their purpose, and Dunbarton tried to compel certain merchants and shipmasters to discharge and load their vessels at that port, thus practically closing the river to Glasgow. The matter was then taken before the Lords of Council and Session, and they on 25th July, 1611, decided the case against Dunbarton.⁶

In this emergency the city was still further helped by the archbishop, who in person carried the affair to London and placed the plight of his burgh before King James.⁷ As a result

¹ *Ibid.* 307.

² *Privy Coun. Reg.* xiv. 387-8.

³ *Burgh Records*, i. 309.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 310.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 311, 315.

⁶ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. 464.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 319.

His Majesty granted a new charter to Glasgow, confirming all its ancient privileges, raising it to the position of a royal burgh, conferring its possession, with all its rights and privileges, upon the provost, magistrates, and community themselves, to be held directly of the king, and only reserving to the archbishop the right of nominating the magistrates.⁸ This charter, which was dated 8th April, 1611, gave the community for the first time a written title to the common lands and other possessions, which had been held originally merely by tolerance of the archbishops, and latterly by virtue of various Acts of Parliament dealing with the ancient possessions of the Church. It also expressly conveyed to the burgh community the privilege of the River Clyde "from the Clochstane to the brig of Glasgow," and thus freed the city for ever from interference with its trade by burghs like Dunbarton situated lower on the stream.

Immediately they had secured this definite grant of jurisdiction over the river, the magistrates proceeded to take active measures for clearing and improving the channel. The provost, James Inglis, having occasion to ride to Culross on the Firth of Forth, was requested to bring back with him, at the town's expense, a certain Henry Crawford, to inspect the waterway and advise as to how it might be improved.⁹

Culross was at that time probably the greatest coal-shipping port in the kingdom. Through the energy of Sir George Bruce the mines there had been pushed far under the firth, and among other engineering works a wonderful mole had excited the admiration of James VI. when he paid a visit to his "courtly collier" at the spot. Crawford was probably the engineer of these works, and the chief expert of the time in undertakings of the kind, and it says much for the shrewdness and enterprise of the Glasgow magistrates that they set out by taking the best

⁸ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* xlv. no. 314; *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. 278.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, i. 320.

advice available in their time. Nor did the matter end with the taking of advice. The engineer had evidently struck upon certain great stones in the river bed at Dumbuck ford as the chief hindrance to navigation, and in the following June, when the water would be getting to its lowest, the town council took action by directing the master of works and certain others to prepare chains, ropes, hogsheads, and other apparatus for removing those stones.¹⁰ For the actual work the merchants of the city were ordered to furnish twenty men, and the crafts other twenty.¹ Ten of these forty failed to appear, or to send substitutes. Labour on the river at a point twelve miles below the city did not perhaps appeal to them. But the magistrates took a more serious view of the matter. For their disobedience, "in sa necessar and notabill ane werk of this commoun weill" the recalcitrants were fined six pounds each,² and the work went on.

The stout magistrates of Glasgow were up against a bigger task than they knew—something like a tearing up of the actual ribs of the world. The final clearing away of the "grit stanis" in the bed of the river at Dumbuck and at Elderslie was not to be accomplished for something like two centuries and a half. But the active improvement of the Clyde had been begun, and the great artery was being opened through which the life-blood of commerce was to flow in ever-increasing volume, for the growth of the greatness of Glasgow at a later day.

As if a new spirit of enterprise and development had begun to awaken in the city about that time, in the year following the promotion of Glasgow to the dignity and privileges of a royal burgh, the community made the first extension of its borders. Since the magistrates in 1609 had resolved to appeal to the king for help to repair the cathedral, several references had been made to the matter, along with provision for repair

¹⁰ *Ibid.* i. 329.

¹ *Ibid.* i. 329.

² *Ibid.* i. 330.

of Glasgow bridge. In December, 1613, however, His Majesty came to the rescue in right royal fashion. A charter was passed under the Great Seal, which, after reciting the expense to which the city had been put in repairing the bridge and kirk, "two great ornaments to the kingdom," conveyed to the burgh a considerable extent of property which had formerly belonged to the sub-deans of Glasgow, but had come into possession of the crown by virtue of the Act of Annexation of Church lands. The property thus conveyed comprised several acres of land and buildings outside the Rottenrow port, eight acres in Deanside, three in Crubbis, and thirty in Provanside. These possessions were to be held and applied for the benefit and advantage of the burgh for payment to the crown of thirty-six shillings and eightpence, and to the College and Crafts Hospital of the duties used and wont. They were incorporated into a single holding to be called the Tenandry of Rottenrow, and were united to the burgh.³ Thus was the extension of the City of Glasgow hanelled by James VI.

An interesting characteristic of the public life of Scotland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the readiness with which municipalities, kirk-sessions, and the like came to the help of each other on occasions of urgent need. In such generosities Glasgow was at least equal to the other communities of the country. Thus on 10th November, 1612, a certain David Ochterlonie, one of the bailies of Arbroath, then known as Aberbrothock, was received by the provost and council in full meeting. The harbour and pier of Arbroath had fallen into disrepair, and as harbours were few on that part of the wild east coast, the Convention of Burghs at its meeting in the previous June had passed an act ordering repairs to be made. Arbroath itself had not resources sufficient, and the worthy bailie was sent forth as a commissioner to ask help. The corporation of Glasgow was at that time itself hard

³ *Charters and Documents*, i. pt. ii. no. xciv.

pressed, and driven to various resources to find money for its own needs, but it made a grant of a hundred merks, to be paid at the Whitsunday following.⁴ From that day to this, Glasgow, whether as a corporation, or by the hands of its private citizens, has never failed to respond to the need of stricken communities, suffering from famine, earthquake, mine explosion, or other disaster.

Not less characteristic of the city was the series of efforts which it made to free its actions in the appointment of its officials. We have seen how, after the flight to France of Archbishop Beaton at the Reformation, the town council made a valiant effort to assert powers of nominating its own provost and bailies. The freedom in this respect which it enjoyed for a time was lost when the king again proceeded to appoint archbishops. A similar fate appears to have attended the town council's effort to exercise the power of appointing a town clerk. To begin with, this appointment was made annually, and in 1574, and for a number of years afterwards, Henry Gibson, who, from his denomination of "maister," was a university graduate, was placed in the office by the council, with no outside interference. One of the candidates in 1574 was a certain William Hegate, and he appears to have tried for the post in succeeding years,⁵ without success. In 1581, however, there appeared upon the scene, as already mentioned, Archibald Hegate, probably a son of William.⁶ The entry in the record is made by himself, and bears that, bringing a letter from Esme, Earl of Lennox, as provost, and with authority and command of the king, he took the oath before one of the bailies, who delivered to him a scroll minute of the proceedings of the previous meeting of council.⁷ For several years he enjoyed the office, and was annually appointed.⁸ From 27th April, 1586, to 22nd October, 1588, the records

⁴ *Burgh Records*, i. 332.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 15, 75.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 157.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 84, 85.

⁸ *Ibid.* i. 100, 107.

are awaiting. Between these dates, under another provost, Sir William Livingstone of Kilsyth, the town council had asserted itself, and appointed Mr. John Ross to be clerk. In May, 1589, at the annual appointment of officials, William Hegate appeared with a letter from the Duke of Lennox, "commanding and charging" the council to appoint James Hegate, his son, to be town clerk. The attempted dictation was resisted, at the instance of Adam Wallace, the town's procurator, who cited an act of the council itself of 19th October, 1588, declaring no such nomination competent; and John Ross was appointed for the year. On 9th September the council went further and ordered the deletion of the entry of 23rd May, 1581, by which Archibald Hegate had taken office, as repugnant and maist prejudiciall to the libertie of the toun, they haifand electioun in their awin handis of the said office in all tyme bygane.⁹ John Ross was reappointed in 1590, and in 1597 "Maister Henry Gibsone standis conforme to his gift," and continued in the office till 1600. Several further gaps occur in the records, and nothing more is heard of the appointment of a clerk till January, 1613. It then transpired that another of the Hegate family had been occupying the position of Town Clerk. This Archibald Hegate, however, had by his "departour and absence" left the office vacant. Further, the provost, bailies, and council had taken advice, and understood that Hegate had left the election of a successor absolutely in their power. Accordingly they proceeded to "admit, elect, and choose" John Thomson, writer, to fill the post. At the same time they safeguarded themselves for the future by making acceptance of the office conditional upon Thomson renouncing any pretension to a right to the appointment through any agreement with Archibald Hegate; also that he should conform to the regulations of the council in his charges for sasines and other services. Further conditions

⁹ *Burgh Records*, i. 135, 146.

were an admission by Thomson that the office was subject to yearly election by the Town Council, and that any contravention of the stipulations entailed immediate dismissal. The new arrangement apparently brought to an end some claim of the Hegates to a vested interest in the Town Clerkship, and to a right of the Town Clerk to exact fees at his own discretion.¹⁰

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, i. 335.

CHAPTER XVII

JAMES VI. VISITS GLASGOW

As early as February, 1616, it was intimated by proclamation in Scotland that the king intended to visit his northern kingdom in the following year. In order that there should be abundant sport for his majesty and the royal retinue strict observance of the laws against hunting and shooting of deer, hares, and wild-fowl was enjoined within certain areas, and it is of interest to note that one of these areas was a district within eight miles of Glasgow.¹ Also, in order that the royal residences should be furnished becomingly it was ordered that all persons in possession of the king's tapestries should report where these were to be found. Among others, a servant of the late Duchess of Lennox declared that a chamber in the donjon tower of the Castle of Glasgow had been hung with this, and contained a silk bed.²

On the last day of 1616 the king addressed a letter to the provost, bailies, and council of Glasgow, intimating his desire that the nobles who should accompany him in the coming summer should see neither signs of rudeness nor appearance of scarcity in his ancient realm, and ordaining the city to send commissioners to a convention of the estates to devise means for making the necessary arrangements for the royal entertainment.³ Next, in February, came an order from the Privy Council for Glasgow to send seven masons, with their

¹ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* x. 459.

² *Ibid.* x. 515, 521.

³ *Burgh Records*, i. 338.

tools, to help with the refitting of Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood Abbey.⁴ Then the Convention of Estates on 7th March resolved on a voluntary taxation of £200,000 (£29,250 stg.) to meet the expenses of the royal visit. Of this, £100,000 (£14,625 stg.) was to be furnished by the clergy, £66,666 13s. 4d. (£9,750 stg.) by the barons, freeholders, and feuars of the crown lands, and £33,333 6s. 8d. (£4,875 stg.) by the burghs.⁵ On 2nd May, proclamation of the coming visit was made at the market crosses of the chief burghs, with an injunction that the people should conduct themselves in orderly fashion, on pain of death; and at last on Tuesday, 13th May, the king entered Scotland.

James was accompanied, on this long-looked-for visit, by a great and distinguished retinue, which included the Duke of Lennox, five English earls, three English bishops, and, among other notables, lay and clerical, Dr. William Laud, who afterwards, as Archbishop of Canterbury, was to play so conspicuous a part as an opponent of Puritanism and Presbyterianism, and in the reign of James's son, to seal his convictions and end his career on the block. Each of them had, of course, his own retinue of gentlemen and servants, and as the great and brilliant cavalcade rode into Edinburgh, it must have filled to overflowing the ancient capital on its high narrow ridge between the Castle and Holyrood, already crowded with the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who had gathered there to meet their sovereign, and with the clergy, crown vassals, and commissioners of burghs, who had assembled for the meeting of Parliament.

It was not till two months had been spent in a round of sports, gaieties, and visits to various burghs, and when James began to think of returning to the south, that the Privy Council caused a proclamation to be made in Glasgow, requiring all the inhabitants to allow their houses and stables to be

⁴ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* xi. 31.

⁵ *Act Parl.* iv. 518.

inspected and set apart for the noblemen and others of the royal retinue, and ordering the owners and occupiers to prepare their premises for the accommodation of those who might be billeted on them. Any who failed to obey this order were to be committed to prison and otherwise punished.⁶

On 22nd July, 1617, the king arrived in Glasgow. His entry was made the occasion of much speechmaking. William Hay of Barro, commissary of Glasgow, welcomed him in a flattering English speech; Robert Boyd of Trochrig, principal of the college, delivered a Latin oration and verses; while David Dickson recited a set of Greek verses in his honour. The city at the same time presented him with a gilt cup in the form of a salmon.

The Burgh Records from 28th August, 1613, till 20th September, 1623, are unfortunately lost. No details, therefore, are available from them of the arrangements made for the royal entertainment on the occasion. We do not even know where the king himself lodged, though it was likely to be either in the archbishop's castle or in the old mansion of the Earls of Lennox, at the Stablegreen Port, where his mother had paid her momentous visit, just fifty years before, to his father Darnley, when he lay there recovering from smallpox.^{6a} On the 24th James went to Paisley, but on Sunday the 27th he returned to the city, and held an important meeting of the Privy Council, attended by Archbishop Spottiswood of St. Andrews, Archbishop Law of Glasgow, the Duke of Lennox, and the Bishop of Aberdeen.⁷ It is said also that a gentleman's child was baptized before him in the presence chamber by an English bishop.⁸ He then set out on his return south, visiting on the way the Marquess of Hamilton at Hamilton Castle in Cadzow, Lord Sanquhar at Sanquhar, and Sir William Douglas at Drumlanrig, and journeying thence by Lincluden, Dumfries, and Annan, to Carlisle, which he reached on 4th August.

⁶ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* xi. 186.

^{6a} See *supra*, p. 12.

⁷ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* xi. 198, 202, 206.

⁸ Calderwood, vii. 272.

CHAPTER XVIII

ARCHBISHOP LAW AND HIS TIME

By the time James Law succeeded Robert Spottiswood in the archbishopric of Glasgow, Scotland had become fairly well reconciled to the episcopal system of church government upon the establishment of which King James had been more or less continuously engaged ever since he really wielded the sceptre. Had he and his son Charles I. been content to leave public opinion to take its own natural course, and had not proceeded to insist upon such minor details as the kneeling position at communion and the use of a prescribed liturgy, there is every reason to believe that the Church of Scotland would have come down to us to-day in episcopal form, and that some of the most regrettable chapters in the history of the country would never have been written. Spottiswood as Primate at St. Andrews was the king's most active minister in pressing further effort to bring the administration of the Scottish Church into line with that of England, and Law at Glasgow appears to have devoted himself rather to the immediate interests of his diocese.

The new archbishop, it is true, was an ardent supporter of episcopal forms. Otherwise he would never have received his appointment. On one occasion, it is recorded, when the communion was being celebrated in Glasgow Cathedral, he noticed some of the college students remaining seated. Approaching, he commanded them to rise if they would not receive the elements in the ordained attitude, kneeling. His conduct in this matter excited the high indignation of the College Principal,

Robert Boyd of Trochrig, and next day the latter, with the college regent, wended his way up the High Street to the Bishop's Castle, and expostulated with the archbishop for dealing at Christ's table "as imperiously as if removing his horse-boys from the bye-board."¹ Such demonstrations, however, were merely local, and while they served to show the personal sympathies of the archbishop, they could not have the effect of the larger acts of Spottiswood's ecclesiastical statecraft.

Archbishop Law was a son of John Law of Spittel, near Dunfermline. As he took his degree at St. Andrews only in 1581, he was one of the newer school which had sprung up since the days of John Knox, and had seen nothing of the fires and ravages of the Reformation. His first charge was the parish of Kirkliston in Linlithgowshire, to which he was appointed by the king in 1585. There he showed himself so little influenced by the sterner ideas of the Calvinistic school, as to indulge in the pastime of football on Sunday. For this he was rebuked by his synod, but the fact did not prevent his appointment in 1589 to be one of the commissioners for the maintenance of religion in the Linlithgow sheriffdom. In 1606 the king made him Bishop of Orkney, and he was consecrated by Archbishop Spottiswood four years later.² He was evidently esteemed and trusted by James, for on 20th July, 1615, less than two months after the transference of Spottiswood to St Andrews, he was promoted to the archbishopric of Glasgow, where he was installed in September.³ Between these two dates he was, by the king's order, admitted a member of the Privy Council, and took the oaths.⁴

The great event of Archbishop Law's reign at Glasgow was the visit of King James to the city in July, 1617. Not much is known of the part he played on that occasion, except that he

¹ Life of Robert Blair, p. 37.

² Keith, *Cat. Scot. Bish.* 264.

³ Calderwood, vii. 203.

⁴ *Privy Coun. Reg.*, x. 381.

attended a meeting of the Privy Council, and apparently did not object to the baptism of a gentleman's child in the king's chamber by an English bishop.⁵

To the cathedral and the city Law was a generous benefactor. He contributed a thousand merks for the reconstruction of the library house, and completed the leaden roof of the cathedral.⁶ He bequeathed five hundred merks to the poor of St. Nicholas Hospital, and two hundred and fifty each to hospitals of the merchants and crafts. Two other monuments of him remain—a MS. commentary on several parts of Scripture, which “gives a good specimen of his knowledge, both of the fathers and of the history of the church,”⁷ and the notable erection over his grave in the Lady Chapel of the cathedral. This monument, the finest in the High Kirk, was set up by his third wife, Marion, a daughter of John Boyle of Kelburne, ancestor of the Earls of Glasgow, and it declares that he bestowed considerable largess upon the schools and hospitals of the city.

Law's first wife was a daughter of Dundas of Newliston; his second, Grissel Boswell, brought him three sons and a daughter. To his eldest son, James, he left the estate of Brunton in Fife. His second son, Thomas, became minister of Inchinnan.⁸

During Archbishop Law's time the country saw great acceleration in the movements of a policy in ecclesiastical affairs which was to bring dire disaster upon both church and throne. That policy was chiefly inspired by King James himself, and in Scotland its principal mover was no doubt Archbishop Spottiswood, now of St. Andrews; but Law must have been, of course, a party to it, and Glasgow was destined to be the scene of some of its most dramatic episodes. The successive acts of this policy are part of the most vital history of Scotland at that time. They show a gradual tightening of the cords and

⁵ Calderwood, vii. 272.

⁶ Keith, *Cat. Scot. Bish.* 263-4.

⁷ Keith, 264.

⁸ *Fasti Eccles. Scot.* i. 189-190, iii. 378.

perfecting of the machinery by which the king and his advisers, like Laud and Spottiswood, proposed to regulate the spiritual affairs of men through a centralised bureaucracy. Scotland, which had burst the bonds of a similar control at the Reformation only half a century before, was not inclined to accept again the orders of anyone, king or prelate, as to the attitude in which it should approach the Almighty or the words in which it should address Him. The royal policy therefore met with an opposition which grew constantly stronger till it burst into open rebellion.

In February 1610, King James, following the example of Henry VIII., set up two courts of High Commission in Scotland, one presided over by each of the archbishops, with absolute power to try, judge, and punish offenders in life or religion.⁹ In 1615 a royal ordinance consolidated these courts, appointed the commissioners, and made five, of whom one must be an archbishop, a quorum.¹⁰ And in 1619 all burgh magistrates were ordered to give effect to the findings of the court.¹ By these ordinances and the Acts of the Glasgow Assembly of 1610, already alluded to, presbyterianism was practically abolished and episcopacy established. Then, to make the consecration of the Scottish bishops valid, according to the views of the English churchmen, the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishops of Brechin and Galloway went to London and were consecrated by the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester, and on their return consecrated the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the other Scottish bishops.²

The Act of 1592, establishing Presbyterian Church government, was still on the statute book, and bishops, as bishops, had in reality no legal standing. This Act, the Magna Charta of presbytery as Cunningham calls it, was repealed by the Parliament held at Edinburgh in 1612. That Parliament rati-

⁹ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* viii. 612, 614; *Act. Parl.* iv. 435.

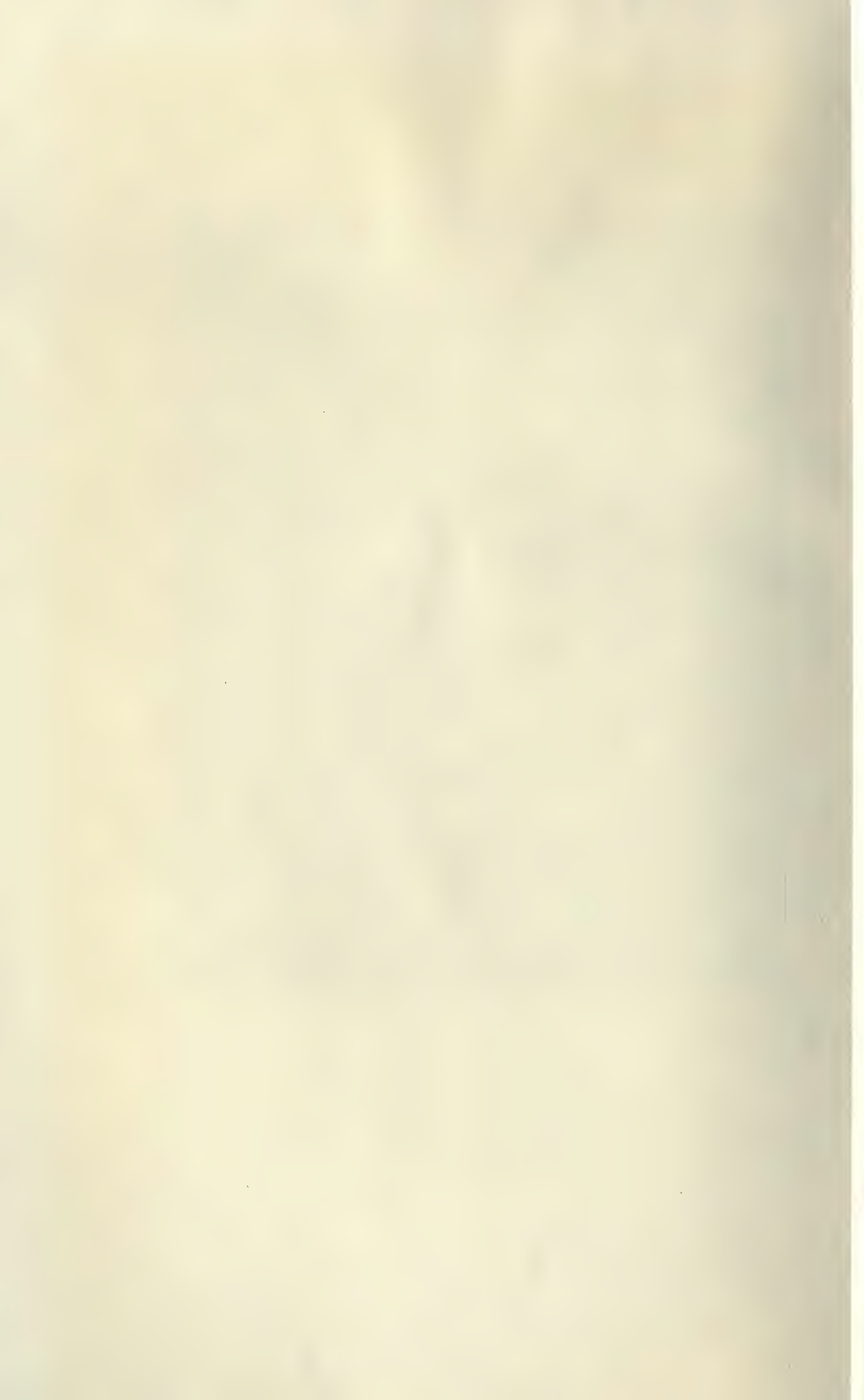
¹⁰ Calderwood, vii. 204, 210.

¹ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* xii. 121.

² Balfour, ii. 35, 36; Gibson, 62; Chalmers's *Caledonia*, iii. 628.



ARCHBISHOP LAUD.



fied the Acts of the General Assembly of 1610, with additions, legalized the authority and jurisdiction of the bishops, and established episcopacy on an unquestionable legal basis as the order of church government in Scotland. At that Parliament Glasgow was represented by the provost, James Inglis, and by James Bell.³

The General Assembly still remained part of the machinery of church government, but it was completely controlled by the king and the bishops, and was only called to meet at their pleasure. After the Glasgow Assembly of 1610 no meeting was called for six years. In July, 1616, however, the Privy Council directed a meeting of Assembly to be held at Aberdeen in the following month. On that occasion the Earl of Montrose was Lord High Commissioner, and Archbishop Spottiswood, as Primate, occupied the Moderator's chair.⁴ That Assembly passed several Acts against popish practices, and it gave effect to King James's far-sighted suggestion that every clergyman should keep a register of all baptisms, marriages, and deaths in his parish.⁵ But the chief work of the Assembly was the sanctioning of a new Confession of Faith, a new catechism, a new liturgy, a new book of Canons, and new rules for baptism, confirmation, and communion.⁶ In sanctioning these Acts of the Assembly the king took occasion to express regret that they had not been more thorough. This shortcoming he soon found opportunity to amend. During his visit to the north in 1617 at the Parliament which he attended in person, he secured the passing of the Acts prescribing the method for electing bishops,

³ *Act. Parl.* iv. 469-470 ; *Calderwood*, vii. 165-173.

⁴ *Privy Coun. Reg.* x. 580, 581.

⁵ Previously the registration of deaths or burials had been provided for by the synodal statute of St. Andrew's No. 161 (*Stat. Eccles. Scot.* ii. 70) and that of baptisms, marriages, and the proclamation of banns by a canon of the Provincial Council held at Edinburgh in 1551 (*Lord Hailes, Annals* iii. 263).

⁶ *Calderwood*, vii. 220, 242 ; *Spottiswood*, ii. 305, 306 ; *Priv. Coun. Reg.*, x. pp. cii. ciii. 598, 601.

restoring deans and chapters, planting kirks, limiting the leasing of church lands, and preventing the dilapidation of benefices. He desired to pass another Act declaring that whatever he, with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the clergy, should ordain regarding the temporal government of the Church, should have the strength of law. This Act would have finally superseded the General Assembly. Had it been passed, the king's policy would have been completely successful. There would have been no need for the General Assembly of 1638, and no opportunity for the revolution effected at that Assembly. There might have been no signing of a National Covenant and of a Solemn League and Covenant and no Civil War, and a whole chapter of the story of Scotland—the fifty-year episode of the Covenanters—might never have been written. But the proposal was resisted by certain ministers and withdrawn by the king, who declared that he could do more by his royal prerogative than the Act proposed. At the same time he evidently recognized the significance of his rebuff, for he had two of the ministers deprived of their benefices and thrown into prison, and had Calderwood, the future historian of the time, banished from the country.⁷

Before James left Scotland on that occasion he arranged for the calling of another Assembly at St. Andrews in November. At this the Five Articles which had been withdrawn from the Assembly of 1616 were again brought forward. By these articles it was proposed to introduce kneeling at communion, private communion and private baptism in urgent cases, confirmation of children by the bishop, and observance of fast days and other holy days. But the only ordinances the Assembly would agree to were those allowing private communion in urgent cases, and instructing the minister at communion to give the bread and wine direct to the communicant. The remaining proposals were deferred for consideration at another Assembly.

⁷ Calderwood, vii. 257, 276, 282.

Angered by this result, the king proposed to take extreme measures with those who had opposed him, but was persuaded by the bishops to leave the matter to their private persuasion.⁸ This proving effective, another meeting of Assembly was called for the following August, 1618. At this Assembly, held at Perth, Spottiswood as moderator ruled that only the ministers who held commissions and the noblemen and gentlemen who had received royal missives were entitled to vote. Under these conditions the disputed articles were passed,⁹ but even in an Assembly thus regulated, keen opposition was shown, and throughout the country popular antagonism to the high-handed action was strongly apparent.¹⁰ In Glasgow, according to Calderwood, Archbishop Law forbade all persons except those who proposed to kneel from coming to the communion service on Easter day; "whereupon the Principal of the College, Mr. Robert Boyd, the regent and the scholars, and the town minister, Mr. Robert Scott, communicated not."

Meanwhile, in January, 1618, the king had issued a proclamation commanding the observance of the five holidays, Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Sunday,¹ and in June he had further extended the powers of the Court of High Commission.²

Later, in July 1621, when a Parliament was held in Edinburgh, a body of ministers drew up a petition against the ratification of the Five Articles of Perth. They were, however, ordered to leave the city, and prevented from lodging their protest. The ratification, though opposed, was passed, and though it was suspended during the Civil War, it was restored at the Restoration, and as a matter of fact remains on the

⁸ Calderwood, vii. 284-286; Spottiswood, iii. 248-252; *Priv Coun. Reg.* xi. intro. lviii. lix. 270, 271.

⁹ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* xi. 454, 456.

¹⁰ Grub, ii. 326, 327.

¹ *Priv. Coun. Reg.*, xi., 296, 297.

² Calderwood, vii. 384-388.

statute book to the present day, and has only lapsed by the Scottish custom of desuetude.³

Some further idea of the ways in which the royal influence was exercised in favour of the complete reestablishment of episcopacy, may be gathered from an incident which occurred in Glasgow in 1622. At that time the Principal of the College was Robert Boyd, a son of Archbishop James Boyd. He had been presented to the senate by Archbishop Spottiswood as chancellor of the University in January, 1615. He is said to have been a good and learned man, but he did not share his father's approval of the episcopal system, and at the time of the Perth Assembly in 1618 he headed the other regents and the students of his college in opposing the action of the king and that body. James and his Scottish Council of course desired that the influence of the universities should be in favour of their schemes, and pressure was accordingly brought to bear upon the Principal to induce him to resign. Up till that time a chief part of the emoluments of the Principalship had been derived from the parsonage of Govan, the duties and revenues of which were attached to the office. In December, 1621, however, Archbishop Law and the other visitors of the College separated the parish from the Principalship, fixed the emoluments of the minister, and left only the appointment of that individual to the officers of the college.⁴ Further pressure being brought to bear, Boyd was forced to resign the principalship in 1622.⁵ He was replaced by John Cameron, a Glasgow man, who was not only a noted scholar and theologian, but was also a strong supporter of the royal policy.

King James was not unaware of the strength of the opposition to his desires which existed in Scotland. The minority in the Parliament of 1621 which resisted the confirmation of the

³ *Act. Parl.*

⁴ *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis* i. 521 522.

⁵ Wodrow's *Biographical Collections*, vol. ii. pt. 1, 122-164; pt. 2, 78, 81, 223.

Articles of Perth could hardly be ignored, and when in 1623 he further exhorted the Scottish bishops to take stronger measures against resisters, the Earl of Melrose pointed out to him that these measures were giving rise to serious popular resentment. In view of these facts he was wise enough to resist the advice of Laud, then Bishop of St. David's, that he should force the Scottish Kirk to conform to the English Church practice.⁶ This did not hinder him, however, from issuing proclamations on 10th June and 24th July, 1624, prohibiting all conventicles and meetings in private houses by night.⁷ Nor did it prevent the Privy Council, two months later, from issuing an order, reminding the king's subjects of their duty to obey the enactments of the Perth General Assembly of 1618, sanctioned by Parliament in 1621, drawing attention to the evasion of these enactments in many burghs, and the failure of magistrates to enforce them, and strictly enjoining all burghs to choose as magistrates only persons of whom they had good assurance that they would yield "obedience and conformitie to the ordours of the church."⁸

Such acts of interference with their religious liberty could not fail to incense and irritate a high-spirited and independent people; but to these feelings an element of alarm was added by certain other transactions of the time.

The king's eldest son, Prince Henry, upon whom so many of the nation's hopes had been set, was dead. The second son, Charles, born at Dunfermline in the year 1600, had been made Prince of Wales. For him the king contemplated a marriage alliance with a daughter of Philip of Spain. With the memory so recent of the Spanish Armada's attempt to crush England, and the knowledge that Spain was the chief stronghold of Roman Catholicism in Europe, the prospect of such a match

⁶ Gardiner, vii. 276.

⁷ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* xiii. 519, 577, 582; Balfour's *Annals*, ii. 99.

⁸ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* xiii. 603, 604.

must have raised forebodings in every Protestant heart. James probably trusted to be able to safeguard the religious interests of his country by the terms of the treaty which would be drawn up, but his plans in this respect were upset by the headstrong action of the prince himself. Charles, twenty-three years of age, abetted by the Duke of Buckingham, determined to go to Madrid in romantic fashion, and complete the wooing and the treaty in person. Foreseeing complications, the king only gave his consent with great reluctance, and in the upshot his foresight was justified. Knowing that the prince would be reluctant to return home in the character of an unsuccessful suitor, Philip and his ministers proceeded to insist on conditions which would never have been suggested had Charles remained in his own country. In this way the prince was forced to undertake to give immunities to the English Catholics, and to have them ratified by Parliament within three years. After giving away so much he discovered that, even though he married the Spanish king's daughter she was not to be allowed to go with him to England. Accordingly, after spending nine months in negotiations he returned home indignant, and three days before the date arranged for the marriage ceremony, broke off the match. A year later, on 12th December 1624, James and his son ratified a treaty of marriage between the prince and Henrietta Maria the fifteen-year-old daughter of Henry IV. of France and his queen, Marie de Medici. In this case again, however, a condition was that the disabilities under which Roman Catholics lay in this country should be removed. This was a direct contravention of the assurance given to the English Parliament that no such favour should be shown to Roman Catholics.⁹

While affairs were in this compromising position King James died at his mansion of Theobald's of what was called a "tertian ague." He was in his fifty-seventh year, longest lived of all

⁹ Balfour, ii. 110.

the kings of the name of James, and, but for his obsession on the subject of church government, a wise monarch and successful ruler. The speed with which news could be carried to Scotland at that time may be judged from the fact that while James died on 27th March, 1625, Charles was proclaimed king at the cross of Edinburgh on the 31st.¹⁰ A month later, on 1st May, Charles was married by proxy at Paris, and on 12th June the young queen landed at Dover.¹ Charles I. thus began his unhappy reign in a position of compromise: he must break his solemn engagement either to his subjects or to his queen and the court of France.

Within a few weeks of his marriage the young king's difficulties began, and it almost immediately became evident that Charles was to be a zealot without the caution and sagacity of his father. Moved largely by his own wounded *amour propre*, Charles had, as one of his first acts, declared war on Spain, and at the meeting of his first English Parliament, on 18th June, 1625, he made a demand for supplies to prosecute the campaign. These supplies Parliament refused until Charles should agree to certain stipulations. The king replied by dissolving Parliament, raising money by taxes without parliamentary authority, and enforcing his demands and ordinances by means of the oppressive Star Chamber and Court of High Commission.² Thus began the open quarrel between the King and the Commons in England which was to go on with increasing asperity till the head of Charles was laid on the block.

In Scotland, with equal wrong-headedness, Charles almost at once raised strong enmity against himself by his efforts to restore episcopacy to its pre-Reformation position of ascendancy, and to bring the Scottish Church service into conformity with that of England. Though archbishops and bishops had been appointed to the ancient Scottish sees by King James, they were very inadequately provided for. The ecclesiastics of the

¹⁰ Balfour, ii. 115, 117, 119.

¹ Balfour, ii. 119.

² Gardiner, v. 432.

Roman Church, we have seen, had been left at the Reformation to enjoy two-thirds of their benefices for life ; but as these ecclesiastics died off their lands and revenues had been conveyed by the Crown, for various considerations, to secular owners, sometimes with, sometimes without, an obligation to provide a modest support for the ministers of the kirk who had succeeded the Roman clergy. One of the first proceedings of Charles on coming to the throne was to endeavour to increase the endowments of the bishoprics. By arrangement with the Marquess of Hamilton he secured the revenues of the ancient Abbey of Arbroath for the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and by similar arrangement with the Duke of Lennox regarding the lordship of Glasgow he improved the revenues of the Archbishop of Glasgow. In similar fashion he increased the incomes of other bishops.³

Such methods, by simple negotiation, however, proved too slow and ineffectual for Charles. Arguing that what the Crown had conferred the Crown could take away, he formed the plan of a wholesale resumption of church lands and revenues. In November, 1625, accordingly, proclamation was made of a general revocation of all grants of Church lands that had been made by the Crown.⁴ Such a proclamation was equivalent to a sentence of ruin to many of the great families of Scotland. Many of these had been in possession of the lands for more than the period of prescription ;⁵ many had had their titles confirmed by Acts of Parliament ; and however just it might have been to regard the possessions as inalienable from religious purposes, if that view had been adopted from the first, it was certainly a revolutionary exercise of the royal prerogative to reverse the ratified and accepted transactions of more than half a century at a single stroke. The proclamation excited the greatest alarm and hostility. So formidable was the opposition that Charles found it advisable to placate the people

³ Grub, ii. 236.

⁴ *Act. Parl.* v. 23.

⁵ Cunningham, i. 503.

he had proposed to impoverish. The nobles and gentry were admitted to the prospect of purchasing and leading their teinds. This meant that instead of being compelled to keep their crops in the field till the owner of the teinds had selected and carted away every tenth sheaf, they could arrange permanently to commute the teind for a money payment based on the rental.⁶ At the same time the ministers were tempted to support the royal projects by the prospect of increased stipends, and, by a new proclamation, ministers who had been appointed before the passing of the Articles of Perth were exempted for a time from complying with them.⁷ Still later, however, Charles proceeded by legal action to annul the grants of Church property and though, in response to remonstrance from the holders, he was induced to appoint a Commission to arrange terms for the surrender of this property to the Crown, a feeling of insecurity and of resentment became widespread among the landowners of the country.⁸

Among these owners of former Church property was the University of Glasgow. Evidently that body was seriously alarmed by the royal policy. If a general revocation of all grants of Church lands and revenues were carried out the University would be reduced to utter ruin, and left in the abject and helpless condition in which it was found by Queen Mary. Its authorities, therefore, exerted themselves, and in 1630 secured a charter under the Great Seal, confirming the University in possession of all the properties, revenues, patronages, etc., which had been conferred upon it. These included the rights and revenues which had belonged to the Friars Preachers and the Vicars of the Choir of Glasgow, the parsonage and vicarage teinds and the patronage of the churches of Govan, Renfrew, Kilbride, Dalziel, and Colmonell. The charter detailed the salaries payable to the principal and regents of the Uni-

⁶ Cunningham, i. 280.

⁷ Balfour, ii. 142, 145.

⁸ Cunningham, i. 503; Gardiner, vii. 278.

versity, under burden of the stipends of the ministers of the parishes mentioned, and it provided for the exemption of the University, its resident members and servants and its property, but not its tenants, from the burgh taxes and other impositions.⁹

In the midst of the king's quarrels with the English parliament over his illegal levying of taxes, the Duke of Buckingham, his chief adviser, gay companion, and luckless commander-in-chief, was assassinated, on 23rd August, 1628, and after that event power passed largely into the hands of Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, and William Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. The former, with his policy of "Thorough," devoted his energies to the establishment of the royal prerogative as the sole engine of government, while the latter redoubled his efforts to reduce to episcopal conformity all religious rites and usages, and to crush relentlessly all presbyterian and puritan departures from this cast-iron rule.

Laud's influence soon became apparent. Following the resolution of the General Assembly held at Aberdeen in 1616 a prayer-book had been prepared. It was ready in 1619, but was not put into use. By that time the public resistance to the Articles of Perth had warned King James of the need for caution, and he had assured the Parliament of 1621 that, if it confirmed the Articles, the use of the new prayer-book would not be insisted on. Laud, however, induced King Charles to order that the draft of this prayer-book should be submitted to him. Though it had been approved by the Scottish bishops, it did not satisfy the English prelate's High Church ideas, and he proceeded to press upon the king the introduction of the English liturgy to Scotland, in order that there should be uniform service in the two kingdoms. Both to Laud and the king the danger was pointed out of thus wounding the susceptibilities of a proud people, strongly Presbyterian in principle,

⁹ *Act. Parl.* v. 75, 77; *Glasg. Charters and Documents*, ii. 328-351.

and jealous of interference by the "auld enemy," England. But opposition only made Charles obstinate, he resolved to bend popular opinion to his will, and embarked upon another detail of the policy which was to prove disastrous to the country and himself.¹⁰

Affairs were in this position when, in November 1632, Archbishop Law died. In his time the relations between the little city and its ecclesiastical superior appear to have been altogether friendly. Except in the annual appointment of the provost and the three bailies, Law does not seem to have interfered in burghal affairs, and several happenings go to show that the magistrates were anxious to please the archbishop. In June 1631, for example, the town council ordered the payment of three hundred merks to the laird of Kelburn, the archbishop's father-in-law, towards the cost of building a pier at Kelburnfoot, the modern Fairlie, which should be available to the shipping of Glasgow.¹ The city's original shipping port, Irvine, was becoming silted up. The library house of the cathedral, also, having fallen into disrepair, the town council in 1628 ordered it to be built up, joisted, and roofed with lead at a cost of 3100 merks (£172 4s. 5d. sterling).²

Under Law's regime the burgh showed signs of substantial advance in prosperity. In 1628 it decided that the paving from the cross down the Saltmarket should be widened and laid as near as possible to the booths or shops on both sides.³ In 1630 a new well was opened in the Trongate, slated and with two pumps. At the same time the steeple of the Tron Kirk—otherwise St. Mary's, the Laigh, or the New Kirk—was heightened in the most approved fashion, and a new bell was provided for it at a cost of £1058 6s. (£88 3s. 10d. sterling).⁴ Thirty-seven constables were appointed for the city,⁵ the town officers

¹⁰ Balfour, ii. 181-184.

² *Council Records*, i. 365.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 5, 6.

¹ *Council Records*, ii. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, 363.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 8.

were provided with uniform consisting of "coat, breeks, and hose" of red kersey, and a "trustie youth" was appointed "ane poist for this burgh."⁶

But the greatest evidence of all of increasing prosperity was the town council's resolve to provide itself with a more dignified council chamber, court house, and prison.⁷ In 1625 the work of demolishing the old tolbooth was begun, and by the end of March, 1627, the new tolbooth had been finished, its steeple furnished with clock and bell, and surmounted with gilded weather cock and vanes.⁸ In the interval the council met, and courts were held in the Tron Kirk, and the town's books and charters were deposited in the house of the Dean of Guild.⁹ The new building on the old site at the west side of the foot of High Street was worthy of the growing fortunes of the city. Sir William Brereton, afterwards a general in the Parliamentary army, who visited the city in 1636, thus describes it. "The Tolbooth, which is placed in the middle of the town, and near unto the cross and market place, is a very fair and high-built house, from the top whereof, being leaded, you may take a full view and prospect of the whole city. In one of these rooms or chambers sits the council of the city; in other of the rooms or chambers preparation is made for the lords of the council to meet in these stately rooms. Herein is a closet lined with iron, walls, top, bottom, floor, and door, iron, wherein are kept the evidences and records of the city; this made to prevent the danger of fire. This Tolbooth is said to be the fairest in the kingdom."¹⁰

McUre, the earliest Glasgow historian, writing in 1736, also waxes eloquent regarding the building. "The town house, or tolbooth," he says, "is a magnificent structure, being of length

⁶ *Council Records*, i. 373. 374.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 346.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, i. 349-363.

⁹ *Ibid.* i. 358.

¹⁰ *Travels of Sir William Brereton* (*Chetham Society*), p. 94; *Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. 151.

from east to west sixty-six foot, and from the south to the north twenty four foot eight inches. It hath a stately staircase ascending to the justice court hall, within which is the entry of a large turnpike, or staircase, ascending to the town council hall, above which there was the dean of guild's old hall, but now is turned into two prison houses for prisoners of note and distinction. . . . The steeple on the east side thereof, being one hundred and thirteen foot high, adorned with a curious clock, all of brass, with four dial plates. It has a large bell for the use of the clock, and a curious set of chimes and tunable bells, which plays every two hours ; and has four large turrets on the corners thereof, with thanes finely gilded ; and the whole roof is covered with lead. Upon the frontispiece of this building is his majesty's arms, finely cut out, with a fine dial." ¹

On the other hand the state of shipbuilding, which in a later century was to become so vast an industry on the Clyde, may be judged from an entry in the burgh records for 1627. This runs that Thomas Reid, boatwright, was allowed to be admitted a burgesse on payment of the modified fee of £40, the concession being made by reason of the fact that "thair is nane of his craft within this burghe, and such neccesser to the town."

But at least one of the sources of the city's prosperity was to receive a blow from the action of the king. A large part of the livelihood of the bishop's burgh was derived from the fisheries of the Clyde and the West Coast, and it is not difficult to understand the alarm of the community with regard to a royal proposal which threatened to curtail public fishing rights in these waters. The Earl of Seaforth, having acquired the island of Lewis, applied to the king in 1627 for a charter erecting Stornoway into a royal burgh with extensive and exclusive fishing rights in these seas. This was strenuously resisted by Tain, Inverness, Glasgow, and all the other royal burghs, as

¹ *Hist. of Glasgow*, ed. 1830, pp. 207, 208.

an inroad upon their rights, and as a result Charles withdrew the charter he had granted Seaforth. That nobleman had already, however, brought fishermen from Holland, who prosecuted fishing at the Lewis to the deprivation of the native population. Charles then, seeing the possibility of a profitable enterprise, brushing aside the objections of the burghs, intimated his resolve to take the Lewis into his own hands, set up one or more free burghs there, and establish a common fishery in the island, to be a nursery for seamen.² This was done by advice of the English Privy Council, and the remonstrances of the Scottish burghs and Scottish Parliament succeeded only in securing a reservation in favour of the natives of certain districts "of all such fishings as were necessary for their subsistence, and which they of themselves have and do fish."³ In this way the firths of Clyde and Forth were reserved for "native" fishermen, while the other seas were handed over to an incorporated society called "The Council and Community of the Fishings of His Majesty's Dominions of Great Britain and Ireland." This society consisted of six Scottish and six English and Irish councillors and some one hundred and thirty-five fellows, holding office for life, and it enjoyed the exclusive right to export fish. Established by a charter under the Great Seal dated 19th July, this incorporation was an early attempt to "nationalize" one of the chief industries of the country against the methods of private enterprise. The charter was confirmed by Act of Parliament on 17th November, 1641, but already, in 1639, the management had proved so unsatisfactory that the king had ordered an enquiry to be made into its financial affairs, its losses, the oppressions it had committed, and the best method of winding it up. It was finally dissolved by an Act of William and Mary passed by the Scottish Parliament on 18th July, 1690, in which it was set forth that the

² *Letter to Scottish Privy Council*, 12th July, 1630.

³ *Privy Council Record*, 28th July, 22nd and 23rd Sept., 1630.

royal incorporation had continued to exact "£6 Scots per last of all herrings exported furth of the kingdom, to the hurt and prejudice of their Majesties' leiges." This Act further invited the merchants of the royal burghs and other good subjects to employ their capital and industry in the fishing and curing of herrings, in which trade they would enjoy all the freedoms and advantages competent to them before the said company was erected.⁴

It was the time of trials for witchcraft, and in 1621 and 1622 three poor creatures were tried for this crime in Glasgow. In each case, however, the Privy Council appointed a special bench of the magistrates to try the cases, and Archbishop Law appears to have had no part in the transaction.⁵

⁴ *Act. Parl.* iv. v. vi. pt. ii. and ix.

⁵ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* xii. 580, 651, 711.

CHAPTER XIX

ARCHBISHOP LINDSAY AND THE OVERTHROW OF EPISCOPACY

THE seeds of deadly trouble in Scotland were now being sown, and of the two great crises of that trouble Glasgow was to be the particular scene. It was in Glasgow Cathedral that in 1638 the General Assembly passed its momentous Act abolishing episcopacy and deposing the bishops ; and it was in the hall of the College of Glasgow that after the Restoration, twenty-two years later, the Privy Council set up again the system, and turned out of their livings some four hundred ministers who refused to agree to the change. It has been the habit of historians to describe the movements of that period as a religious struggle. As a matter of fact it was something considerably different. The deposed bishops and the deposed ministers in turn were alike sincere Christians of the Protestant faith, and the Covenanters, who suffered in the " killing times " under James VII., were of exactly the same religion as the Royalists whom they themselves had hanged and beheaded during the time of their own ascendancy forty years before. As already pointed out in these pages, there is reason to believe that the struggle, to begin with, at any rate, was not even one between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. John Knox himself found it necessary, shortly after the Reformation, to appoint superintendents of districts, who were merely bishops without the title. And when James VI. died, in 1625, the country had settled down to a system of church government in which the General Assembly was coming to be recognised as the deliberative and law-making

body and the bishops as the executive officers. Nor was the use of a liturgy, again, repugnant to the public taste of Scotland. John Knox's *Forms of Prayer and Catechism* was itself a liturgy derived from Geneva. This was translated into Gaelic by Bishop Carswell of the Isles as early as the year 1567, and it was quite evidently the intention of the fathers of the Reformed Church that some such ordered form of worship should be provided.

The real cause of trouble obviously was the attempt of the English churchman Laud to make the Scottish Church conform to English usage, and adopt the English prayer-book. Almost exactly the same thing had happened in an earlier century, with similarly disastrous results. There can be little doubt that the insistent claim of the Archbishops of York to be suzerains of the Scottish Church, from the time of David I. downwards, was one of the chief contributing elements that brought about the terrible War of Independence in the days of Baliol, Wallace, and Bruce. In the seventeenth century, as in the thirteenth, the spirit of the Scottish people resented the English attempt at dominance, and it was this resentment—a political and not a religious motive—which in Scotland led to the signing of the Covenant and the Civil War.

Had the later Stewarts been a more judicious race the catastrophe which was to seal their fate might have been avoided. The original line of the High Stewarts, which ascended the throne in the person of Robert II., ended in Mary Queen of Scots. The Lennox Stewarts, who succeeded, through the marriage of Darnley to the Scottish queen, were of a different breed and character. James VI., with all his sagacity, lies under suspicion of contriving the Gowrie Conspiracy and the murder of the Bonnie Earl of Moray, and made a very poor appearance in the matter of his mother's imprisonment and execution. Charles I., irreproachable in private life, was perfidy itself in public affairs. Charles II., regenerated no whit by the

stern experience of his exile, seems to have been intent on little else than his personal enjoyment, and was inclined to be the father of his people in rather more than the conventional sense. And in his brother, the fair-haired, irreproachable James VII. and II., the race appropriately reached its limit and shot its Niagara—a stubborn zealot, unmerciful as a judge and impossible as a statesman. Under the rule of such kings there could hardly fail to be trouble and suffering for their people.

In Glasgow the man whom the blast of the storm was to strike most severely was the new archbishop. Patrick Lindsay was the son of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lindsay of Downie, a cadet of the Lindsays of Edzell, and the family of which the Earl of Crawford is the head. Having graduated Master of Arts at St. Andrews in 1587, he was appointed in the following year to the collegiate church of Guthrie, and translated five or six years later to St. Vigean, the parish church of the Abbey of Arbroath. From King James he received gifts in 1601 of a third of the vicarage and in 1602 of the fruits of the Abbey. He was a member of five Assemblies and two Courts of High Commission, and in 1613 was promoted to the Bishopric of Ross. Two years later he inherited the barony of Downie, Pitterlie, etc.; and in 1616 he received a pension from the stipend of St. Vigean and got the Abbey of Ferne annexed to his bishopric. These pecuniary proceedings throw light on the efforts which were being made, not unsuccessfully, to provide revenues for the new bishops.

Lindsay was Bishop of Ross for twenty years. He was a good man and a fervent preacher, and exercised his office with much mildness and moderation. The esteem in which he was held is testified by the fact that the degree of D.D. was conferred upon him in 1633. In the same year, Archbishop Law having died in the previous November, he was promoted by Charles I. to be Archbishop of Glasgow.¹ Here, five years later, he was

¹ Keith, 202, 265; Grub, ii. 300, 338, 339.

to find himself in the midst of the tremendous upheaval of the Church, and in his own cathedral to see the sudden overthrow of the entire episcopal system, of which he was one of the most notable figures.

But before these things came to pass the people of Scotland were to have an opportunity of seeing with their own eyes the actual personages who were, wisely or unwisely, pulling the wires of the great state drama. In the month of May, 1633, King Charles journeyed to Scotland to be crowned. In his train came the Duke of Lennox, the Marquess of Hamilton, the Earl of Morton, Dr. Laud, Bishop of London, and Dr. White, Bishop of Ely. The court came by Berwick and Dalkeith, and Charles entered Edinburgh in state on Saturday the 15th, and took up residence in Holyrood Palace. Next day, in the chapel-royal, he attended service conducted by his chaplain, the Bishop of Dunblane.² On Tuesday, in the same Abbey Church of Holyrood, after a sermon by Bishop Lindsay of Brechin, he was crowned King of Scotland.³

Spalding describes how on this outstanding occasion the service was conducted with high episcopal accompaniments. The Archbishop of St. Andrews, and other four bishops who took part, wore white rochets and white sleeves, with capes of gold having blue silk to their foot. There were unlighted candles on the communion table, which was set out like an altar. Most remarked of all, at the back was "a rich tapestry wherein the crucifix was curiously wrought, and as those bishops who were in service passed by this crucifix they were seen to bow the knee and beck, which, with their habit, was noticed, and bred great fear of inbringing of popery." One witness asserts that Laud arrogated to himself the order and management of the ceremonies, and that "the Archbishop of St. Andrews being placed at the king's right hand, and the Archbishop of Glasgow on his left, he thrust the latter aside, saying

² Spalding, i. 35.

³ Balfour's *Annals*, ii. 199.

' Are you a churchman, and want the coat of your order ? ' and put the Bishop of Ross in his place."⁴ This, however, does not appear likely. Spalding says that the Archbishop of Glasgow and other bishops who were present but not in service " changed not their habit, but wore their black gowns without rochets or white sleeves." ⁵

On 20th June, a month after his coronation, Charles in state opened the Scottish Parliament in the old Parliament House or Tolbooth above St. Giles'. On that occasion, as was customary, a committee known as the Lords of the Articles was appointed to deal with the details of proposed legislation. The committee consisted of eight prelates chosen by the nobles or greater barons, eight nobles chosen by the prelates, with eight lesser barons or landowners, and eight representatives of the burghs chosen by the sixteen prelates and nobles. This method of election, of course, gave an immense preponderance to the episcopal party, and as Parliament had no power to modify the Acts framed by the committee, but could only accept or reject them, an opportunity was afforded for the passing of very one-sided legislation.⁶ The episcopal leanings of Glasgow at the time may be gathered from the fact that Provost Gabriel Cunningham, the city's representative at the Parliament, was one of the eight burgesses chosen as Lords of the Articles. For the occasion he appears to have been provided by the city fathers with a velvet foot-mantle and " haill harneising thairto " at a cost of 340 marks, or £18 17s. 9d. sterling.⁷

On Sunday, 23rd June, the king attended an English service in St. Giles', where two English chaplains in surplices officiated, and the Bishop of Moray, in a rochet, preached the sermon ; and after the service he was entertained at a banquet by the town of Edinburgh.⁸

⁴ Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, ii. 182.

⁵ *Memorials*, i. 36, 37.

⁷ *Council Records*, ii. 15.

⁶ Burton, vi. 86.

⁸ Spalding, i. 39.

On 24th June, St. John's Day, in Holyrood Chapel, Charles touched about one hundred persons afflicted with scrofula—"the king's evil."⁹ On the 26th and 27th he attended the meetings of the Lords of the Articles, where his presence could not but influence the deliberations, and on the 28th he was present in state when Parliament met to ratify the Acts of the committee. Among these measures were Acts which confirmed the episcopal form of church government and worship, and gave the king power to regulate the apparel of churchmen. To this latter ordinance the Earl of Rothes took exception, and when he questioned the vote against him Charles intervened, and declared that Rothes must either be silent or make good his charge at the peril of his life. At which Rothes prudently said no more.¹⁰

An Act to which Scotland owed much in the days to come was that which effectively established a school in every parish, and thus opened the advantages of education to the whole youth of the country.¹ It is pleasant to think that the Archbishop and the Provost of Glasgow were among the Lords of the Articles who framed this beneficent measure. The previous Act of 1616 to the same purpose had proved ineffective because of the indefiniteness of its machinery.²

The influence of these representatives of the city is to be directly seen in yet another Act of this Parliament. In view of the expense incurred by Glasgow in deepening the Clyde, maintaining the bridge and cathedral, and building a tolbooth and churches, confirmation was granted of all Glasgow charters, infeftments, writs, and evidences, from the days of Alexander III. downwards. This confirmation was given without prejudice to the rights of the Duke of Lennox, the Archbishop, and the University.³

⁹ Balfour's *Annals*, ii. 200.

¹⁰ Burton, vi. 88 ; Row, 367.

¹ *Act. Parl.* v. 21, 22.

² *Priv. Coun. Reg.* x. 671, 672 ; Row, 343, 344. Reports pub. by Maitland Club.

³ *Charters and Documents*, ii. cvi. *Act. Parl.* v. 87, 89.

On the same day on which Parliament adjourned, 28th June, the king and Laud met the bishops and ministers to deliberate upon the introduction of the English prayer-book into Scotland. In view of certain objections which the Scottish bishops pointed out, they were instructed to prepare a liturgy "as near that of England as may be."⁴ Upon that occasion no one appears to have been bold enough to represent to Charles that the Scottish Church was entirely independent of the Church of England, and by no means bound to conformity with its southern neighbour. Recognition of this fact might have averted a great catastrophe, but it is doubtful if Charles would have listened even if the matter had been pointed out to him.

Next day the king set out on a progress through the country, visiting Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, Falkland, and Perth, and returning by Burntisland and Leith, and on 18th July he took his departure for England. Scotland was to see him no more for eight years. Edinburgh retained a memorial of the royal visit in the fact that at the request of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Charles erected the archdeaconry of Lothian into a bishopric, with the church of St. Giles for its cathedral.⁵ He also designed a benefaction to Glasgow.

At that time Dr. John Strang, who had been appointed Principal of Glasgow University in 1626, was carrying out, by means of private subscriptions, great extension of the buildings and improvements of the grounds of the College. A considerable space was enclosed and laid out as gardens, and the northern and eastern sides of the inner quadrangle were built. Towards these improvements some £2000 sterling were secured. Archbishop Spottiswood of St. Andrews, and Archbishops Law and Lindsay of Glasgow each gave a thousand merks (£55 11s. 1d. sterling), the burgh of Glasgow 2750 merks, Stirling and Ayr 300 merks each, Irvine, then the sea-port of Glasgow, £100 Scots (£8 6s. 8d.), and many Scottish noblemen, courtiers, and

⁴ Gardiner, vii. 290.

⁵ Keith, 44-61; Maitland's *Hist. Edin.* 280, 281.

gentlemen various sums. To help this work the king, on 14th July, four days before his departure for the south, promised a contribution of £200 sterling. Unhappily, by reason of the troubles in which he was presently to find himself, he was never able to fulfil the promise.

On the other hand, the new taxation imposed by Parliament was faced by Glasgow with exemplary promptitude. The first Act of the Parliament had been to grant the king a tax of thirty shillings on the pound land at each of six annual terms, and the sixteenth penny of all annual rents.⁶ Six months later, on 14th November, Glasgow Town Council sent a deputation to treat with the Collector General, the Marquess of Hamilton, as to a reasonable composition to be paid by the burgh for these imposts.⁷ In a month the bargain was made. Glasgow became bound to pay 20,000 merks (£1,111 2s. 2d. sterling) for the first impost, and £9000 Scots (£750 sterling) for the second. This covered all the inhabitants; but honorary burgesses and non-residents were excluded from the benefits of the arrangement.⁸ The transaction affords an illuminating suggestion of some of the substantial advantages of burghship in the seventeenth century. The inhabitants of Glasgow were evidently fully aware, even then, of the virtues of "collective bargaining."

At the same time the city fathers appear to have been as fully determined as the trades union leaders of the twentieth century to prevent the creation of other bodies which might assert a right to similar advantages. Just then Sir John Shaw of Greenock was energetically developing the town and harbour on his estate. In 1589 he had procured letters patent from James VI. to erect a parish kirk at Greenock, and five years later he had secured a statute erecting Greenock, formerly a part of Inverkip, into a separate parish.⁹ Then in February,

⁶ *Act. Parl.* v. 13-20.

⁷ *Council Records*, ii. 18.

⁸ *Charters and Documents*, i. 339.

⁹ *Act. Parl.* iii. 549; iv. 75.

1634, he applied for a royal charter erecting Greenock into a burgh of barony. This proposal excited the apprehension of Glasgow, which foresaw not only a certain objectionable cheapening of baronial privileges, but probable serious trading competition from a harbour burgh at the navigable mouth of the Clyde. A deputation was accordingly sent to Edinburgh to oppose the application. The Lords of Exchequer, however, saw the matter in another light ; the objection failed, and on 5th June, 1635, the king, as administrator for his son, the Prince and Steward of Scotland, erected Greenock into a free burgh of barony.¹⁰

That Glasgow had substantial reason to fear the establishment of another burgh on the Clyde may be gathered from the fact that Patrick Bell, the town's commissioner to the Convention of Burghs in 1634, was instructed to consult with the town's legal advisers in Edinburgh as to means of curtailing the exorbitant customs exacted by the burghs of Dunbarton and Renfrew, and as a result a summons was actually taken out against Dunbarton on the subject.¹ The result of the effort is not known, as the burgh records are wanting for a considerable period, but the magistrates were apparently stimulated to more energetic exercise of their rights on the river and firth. Their jurisdiction extended from Glasgow Bridge to the Cloch Stane between Gourrock and Inverkip. The jurisdiction was exercised by a special magistrate known as the River Bailie. For some time the magistrates had allowed this office to fall into the hands of "divers decayed and depauperat persons." They now, however, resolved to restore it "to the old worthie and laudable estait quhairin it once was," and to elect to it one of the best rank in the council. He was to be an ordinary councillor *ex officio*, was to be elected along with the Dean of Guild and the Deacon Convener, was to sit on the bench in river cases, and was to have the water sergeants under his command. He

¹⁰ *Act. Parl.*, v. 440.

¹ *Burgh Records*, ii. 22, 23, 25.

was to be paid an annual fee of £10, along with the fees to the provost and bailies.²

At the same time the town made a wise departure in dealing with elements menacing prosperity within its own bounds. Edinburgh had, in 1632, set up a house of correction in which "idle masterless loons and sturdy beggars" arrested by the constables might be made to earn their living by honest work. The experiment was authorized by a decree of the Privy Council, and its success was followed by a royal patent empowering all royal burghs to establish similar houses. In 1635 accordingly the magistrates of Glasgow acquired from the Earl of Glencairn the old manse of Cambuslang on the south side of Drygate, and established within it a mill and wheels for the manufacture of woollens.³

Glasgow was now apparently recovering from the disastrous effects of the Reformation, which had stopped the flow of money from the Bishop's Palace and the thirty-two prebendal manses at the Townhead. The records of presents of herrings to the President of the Court of Session and the town's law advisers in Edinburgh, as well as to other persons whom it was desired to propitiate⁴ suggest one of the sources of that renewed prosperity. It is stated that as many as nine hundred boats were employed in the herring fishery within the Cloch in the early years of the seventeenth century. The shoals came much further up the river in those days. When they did not come in sufficient quantities the fishermen made voyages, three in a season, to more distant waters. For each of these draves, or voyages, they paid the Crown a thousand herrings. The grant of these "assize herrings" was long held by the Argyll family for a reddendo of £1,000 Scots (£83 6s. 8d. sterling) per annum. The actual value of the fishery is shown by the fact that in the

² *Burgh Records*, ii. 35, 37, 38.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 22, 33, 34, 35; Cleland's *Annals*, 18.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, ii. 25.

old Argyll rental books the amount realized from the disposal of the " assize herrings " is more than the rental for the whole estate of Rosneath. The herrings were mostly cured in Greenock by the Glasgow merchants, and exported to France and the Baltic. In 1564 no fewer than 20,000 barrels were shipped from Greenock to Rochelle alone.⁵

A few years later there is evidence of the beginning of cloth manufacture on a large scale. In 1638 Robert Fleming and his partners obtained from the burgh, free of rent for fifteen years, a " great lodging " in the Drygate, and a shop under the tolbooth, for the business of a factory in which a number of " the poorer sort of people " might find occupation.⁶ To quiet the alarm of the weavers in the town the promoters of the enterprise undertook that none but freemen of the craft should be employed.⁶

With the tide of prosperity thus flowing the town appears to have been disposed to embark upon various undertakings. In 1634 the council appointed Matthew Colquhoun, wright, to attend to the fabric of the High Kirk, at a salary of £120 Scots (£10 sterling) per annum.⁷ In the following year the magistrates and council completed negotiations for the purchase of the lands of Gorbals and Bridgend from Viscount Belhaven, to whom they had recently been conveyed by the unfortunate Sir George Elphinstone. The price agreed upon was 100,000 merks (£5,555 11s. 1d. sterling), but for some unknown reason the transaction was not completed.⁸

Expenditure was also incurred on a considerable scale in connection with the religious interests of the burgh. In 1633 the communicants in the city numbered more than five thousand. There were only three ministers to attend to them, and

⁵ *Historical Manuscripts Report*, iv. 481; *Brown's History*, ii. 315; Macgeorge, 234.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. 386, 388.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 24, 25, 31.

⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 29, 31, 32.

“ for their better comfort and instruction ” the inhabitants desired a fourth minister, Dr. James Elliot, to be appointed. The archbishop issued an edict, the magistrates declared their agreement to provide a stipend, and Dr. Elliot was appointed.⁹

Next came the question of the Blackfriars Kirk. This stood close to the south of the college buildings in High Street, and had been conveyed to the college authorities. Almost from the first, however, the magistrates, who had part use of it as a church and meeting-place, had expended sums of money on the upkeep of the building.¹⁰ In 1635, nevertheless, it was reported to be in a ruinous condition. At that time Dr. John Strang, the Principal of the University, was busy with his great work of extending the college buildings and laying out the grounds, and, being a good man of business, he probably saw an opportunity of being at once relieved of the responsibility of maintaining the old Kirk of the Blackfriars and acquiring funds for the undertaking he had at heart. The moment was opportune. Two of the town's ministers, whose consent was necessary, were the rector and the dean of faculty of the college, and the consent of the archbishop was assured for a transaction so obviously in the best interests of the citizens and the kirk itself. An arrangement was therefore made with the town council to transfer the ownership of the kirk and kirkyard on certain terms. These included a payment by the magistrates of 2,000 merks towards the “ new wark ” and library of the college, and the reservation to the college of the seat next best to that of the magistrates, with the use of the kirk for the conferring of degrees and other purposes ; while the college authorities, on their part, undertook to allocate to sons of burgesses attending college four of the ground floor chambers in their new building. At the same time the inhabitants raised an endowment fund, to be invested and held by the town council, sufficient to pay the minister a stipend of a thousand merks (£55 11s. 1d.

⁹ Cleland's *Annals*, p. 18.

¹⁰ *Charters and Documents*, i. 353.

sterling), and upon this basis the archbishop agreed to the transfer of the church. The king afterwards confirmed the arrangement by a charter under the Great Seal.¹

According to Sir William Brereton, who visited the city in July, 1636, the revenue of Glasgow at that time was about £1,000 per annum, while its population was about 20,000. The city, he says, is famous for its church, "the fairest and state-liest in Scotland," and for its tolbooth and bridge. The nave and choir or chancel of the High Church were divided by a great wall, and service was held only in the choir, and in another church below it. The town consisted of two streets, one running from the High Church to the bridge, and another, much shorter, crossing it at the cross. The archbishop's palace, he says, is a stately structure. The standing part of the college is "old strong plain building," and the library a very little room "not twice so large as my own closet," but for the new buildings laid out collections had been made throughout Scotland and more money subscribed than was needed. The college was governed by one principal, four regents, and about a hundred and twenty students who wore cloaks of various colours, some red, some grey, as pleased themselves. The bridge was of seven or eight fair arches supported and strengthened by strong buttresses. The river was "now navigable" within six miles of the city, and ebbcd and flowed above the bridge, but the water there was so shallow that you might ride with it under the horse's belly. "Beyond this river there is seated pleasantly a house, which was Sir George Elphinstone's, and is to be sold to pay his debts. The revenue thereunto belonging is about £300 per annum. The price offered by this city, who are about to buy it, is £6000. The suburbs and privileged places belonging unto it induced them to buy it."²

¹ *Charters and Documents*, ii. 356, 358, 359, 363, 364, 374.

² *Travels of Sir William Brereton*, Chetham Society, p. 94; *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 150-153.

To assure all its recently acquired rights and liberties the city, in 1636, procured a new charter from Charles I., much as it procures an "omnibus" Act of Parliament at the present day. This confirmed all its former and recent powers and possessions, including its status as a free royal burgh, for payment of twenty merks annually to the Crown.³

But Glasgow, with the rest of Scotland, was now to have its resources put to the test in very serious fashion.

Soon after the king's return from Scotland to the south in 1633, Abbott, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had died. Laud succeeded to the primacy, and his influence over the king appears to have become even stronger than before. In May, 1634, Charles wrote to the Scottish bishops expressing his opinion that there was nothing more defective in their church than the want of a book of common prayer and uniform service, and requiring them to condescend upon a form of church service and to draw up canons for uniformity of church discipline.⁴ The draft of a new prayer-book and a draft of canons for the Scottish Church were accordingly sent up to London early in 1635 and were submitted to Laud and the Bishops of Hereford and London, and altered and adjusted by these prelates. In May, 1635, the king sanctioned "Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical for the Government of the Church of Scotland," and they were issued in the following year. Among other matters these canons declared that if any one questioned the king's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical he should be excommunicated, and could only be restored by the archbishop of his province after repentance and public recantation of his errors. Anyone who affirmed that rites and ceremonies and episcopal government of the church were repugnant to the Scriptures, or were corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful, was to be subject to the same penalty. No layman was to exercise

³ *Charters and Documents*, ii. 375.

⁴ Introduction to Sprott's *Scottish Liturgies*, p. 48.

any office of the ministry. All conventicles and secret meetings of churchmen were forbidden, the sacrament was to be received with bowing of the knee, all persons must kneel at reading of prayers and stand at the singing of the creed. No prayers except those in the public liturgy were to be used on pain of deprivation.

Many of these canons were highly repugnant to the people of Scotland; they were issued without being submitted to any General Assembly for discussion or approval; and they prescribed conformity with a prayer-book which had not been seen, much less approved, by any Scottish ecclesiastical authority.

On 18th October, 1636, the king wrote to the Lord Chancellor, Archbishop Spottiswood, commanding him to proclaim that all subjects must conform to the liturgy, "it being the onlie forme of worshippe quhilk wee, having taken the counseall of our cleargie, thinks fitt to be used in God's publicke worshippe ther." ⁵ The Privy Council accordingly established the prayer-book, and by proclamation in every head burgh the people were ordered to conform.⁶ But the liturgy itself did not reach Scotland till the spring of 1637. It had been adjusted by Laud and by Wren, Bishop of Hereford, and at once excited anger and hostility throughout the country. It was considered more popish than the English prayer-book, and the fact rankled that it had authority neither from the Scottish Parliament nor the General Assembly.⁷ Nobility and burgesses alike were deeply offended, remonstrances and protestations poured in upon the Privy Council from all quarters, and in Edinburgh and the West of Scotland actual resistance was threatened. In view of these manifestations of hostility the Privy Council hesitated; but the reported opposition to his will only made the king obstinate, he ordered it to be proclaimed that he was determined to en-

⁵ Bailie's *Letters, etc.* i. 33.

⁶ Balfour, ii. 224; Burton, vi. 104.

⁷ Cunningham, i. 515; Gardiner, viii. 313; Row, 398.

force obedience, and the proclamation was duly made at the cross of Edinburgh on 17th October. Little did Charles guess that the trumpeter who blew the fanfare on that occasion was giving the signal for a rising of the country which was to end the royal authority altogether.⁸

On 23rd July, 1637, the new service book was introduced at morning service in the middle church of St. Giles, Edinburgh. The Bishop of Edinburgh, Dr. Lindsay, was to preach the sermon, Dr. Hanna, the Dean, was to read the service, and Archbishop Spottiswood of St. Andrews, the Lord Chancellor, was present, as well as the magistrates of the city. No sooner had the Dean begun to read than an uproar broke out. Common tradition, which has not been confirmed, says that one Jenny Geddes, keeper of a stall in the street, led the disturbance by exclaiming "Dost say mass at my lug," and throwing her stool at the Dean's head. But, whoever began the riot, books, stools, and other articles were thrown. The archbishop and the bishop both tried in vain to quieten the angry feelings of the congregation, and in the end the magistrates had to descend from their loft and bring the secular power into action to eject the rioters. Outside the cathedral surged a furious crowd, and the bishop only escaped by the protection of the Earl of Wemyss. Similarly, at the end of the afternoon service, Dr. Lindsay was only saved from serious assault by the armed guard of the Earl of Roxburgh. At the same time, on the attempt to read the new service-book at the Greyfriars and other churches of the city, similar riots broke out and frustrated the proceedings.⁹

Next day the Privy Council by proclamation denounced the rioters, but before the following Sunday Spottiswood and the bishops resolved to defer the use of both the old and the new prayer-books till the matter should be reported to the king.

⁸ Gardiner, viii. 322.

⁹ Row, 408; Baillie, i. 18; Spalding's *Memorials*, i. 79.

Charles, however, was obdurate ; the use of the service-book must be insisted on. The Privy Council accordingly ordered the attempt to be renewed on 13th August.

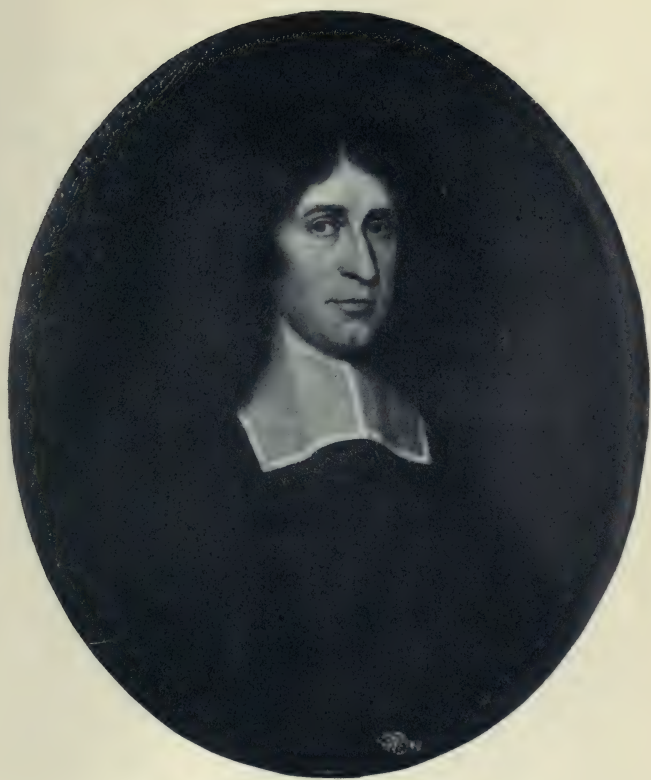
At Glasgow Archbishop Lindsay desired Robert Baillie, minister of Kilwinning and afterwards Principal of the University, to preach on the last Wednesday of August at a meeting of the Synod of the Diocese, urging conformity to the new canons and prayer-book. Baillie refused, and his place was taken by William Armour, minister of Ayr. Armour's experience was even more unpleasant than that of the Dean of Edinburgh. As he, with the archbishop and magistrates, left the church he was assailed by a mob of women, raging, scolding, and cursing, and after supper, about nine at night, as he went with other ministers to visit the archbishop, some hundreds of women fell upon him, with fists, staves, and peats. He was badly beaten, his cloak, hat, and ruff were torn, and he only escaped when his cries roused the townsfolk to set candles out at their windows.¹⁰

In view of the public heat, and the representations of many noblemen and gentlemen, the Privy Council again communicated with the king ; but the only answer, sent on 10th September, was a reprimand for their slackness, and an order to the bishops to enforce the reading of the liturgy in their dioceses. Forthwith over three score petitions against the proceeding poured upon the Council. One of these came from Glasgow, and one, signed by the Earl of Sutherland, came from the nobility, barons, ministers, and burgesses.¹

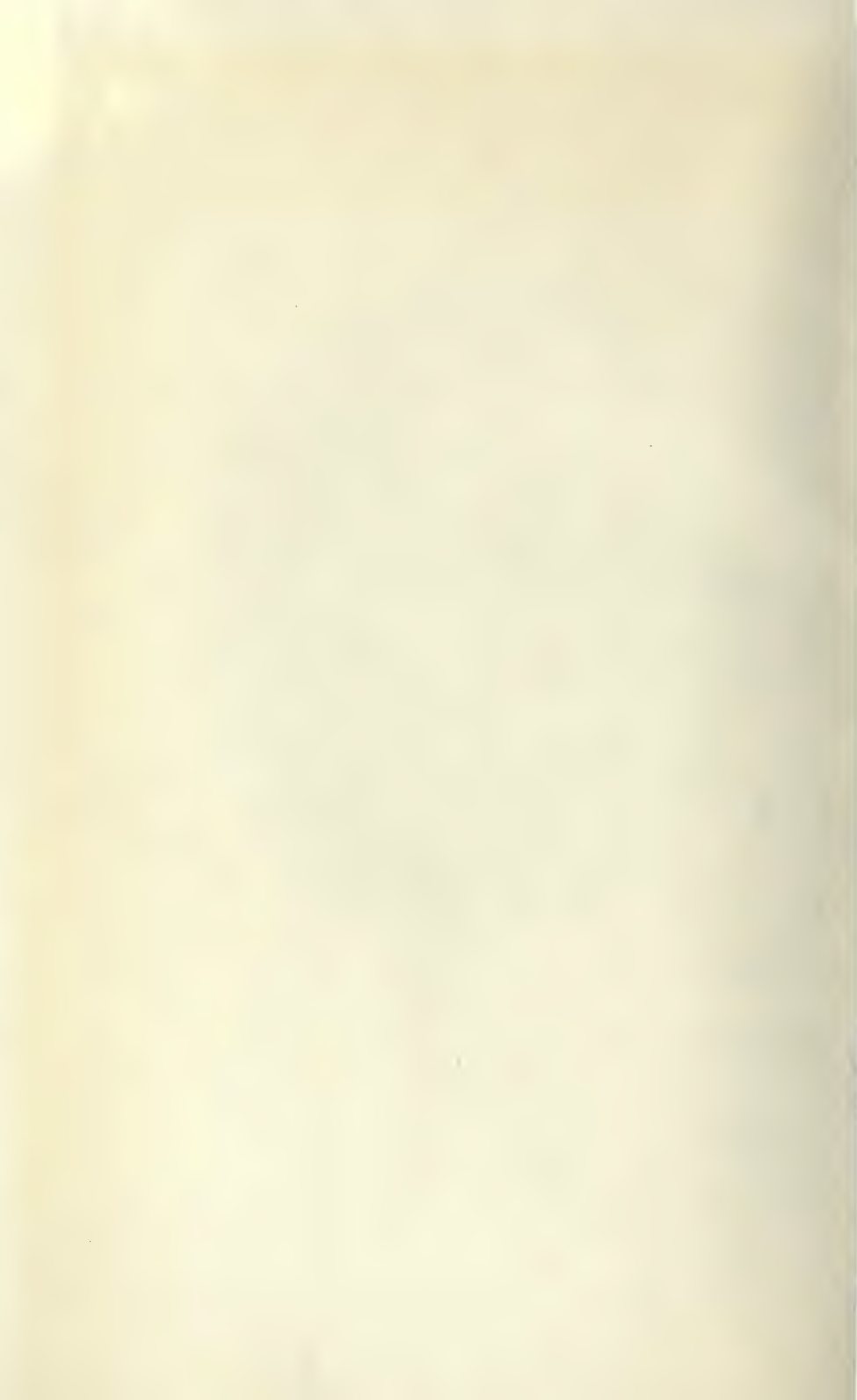
The petitions were sent to the king by the hands of the Duke of Lennox, who, it was hoped, might be able to impress upon Charles the serious position of affairs. By way of answer the king merely ordered further proclamations commanding the petitioners to leave Edinburgh within twenty-four hours, removing the courts of justice to Linlithgow, and ordaining the

¹⁰ Baillie's *Letters*, i. 19.

¹ *Roths, Relation*, 48.



GEORGE GILLESPIE.



public burning of a book by George Gillespie, *Against Popish Ceremonies*.²

These proclamations were answered in Edinburgh by popular demonstrations against the Privy Council and magistrates, and by the drawing up of a complaint urging that the bishops should be brought to legal trial. While this complaint was sent to the king the petitioners formed a committee which ultimately consisted of six or more noblemen, two gentlemen from each county, one townsman from each burgh, and one minister from each presbytery.³ This was the first beginning of organized opposition to the policy of the king.

The seriousness of the position was laid before Charles by the Earl of Traquair, but, resisting this earnest advice, the king ordered another proclamation to be issued on 19th February, 1638, censuring the petitioners and forbidding unlawful convocations under pain of treason. This proclamation excited great indignation throughout the country.⁴ On 24th February Glasgow town council sent a commission to Edinburgh to act with the representatives of other burghs "anent the buikis of canones and commoun prayer." The committee of petitioners issued a protest refusing to accept orders and proclamations from the Privy Council until the bishops were removed from it. And, for readier action, four executive committees were appointed, which in common parlance got the name of "The Tables."⁵

To enlist the body of the people the Tables prepared a National Covenant binding those who signed it to defend the true Reformed Religion, and to oppose all innovations and corruptions in church worship and government.⁶ On 28th February this Covenant was first signed in Greyfriars Church

² Balfour, ii. 236; Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, i. 20.

³ Gordon, i. 28; Gardiner, viii. 325. ⁴ Gordon, i. 32; Burton, vi. 178.

⁵ Gordon, i. 28; Rothes, *Relation*, 35.

⁶ Gordon, i. 42; Gardiner, viii. 330; Cunningham, i. 526.

and churchyard at Edinburgh, and copies were afterwards largely signed at Glasgow, St. Andrews, Lanark, and throughout the country. On 28th April a further statement was drawn up by the Covenanters and signed by the Earls of Rothes, Cassillis, and Montrose, demanding not only the withdrawal of the books of canons and church service, but also the abolition of the Court of High Commission, and the summoning of a free General Assembly and a free Parliament.

Realizing at last something of the seriousness of the position, Charles now sent the Marquess of Hamilton to Scotland. Crossing the Border on 6th June, this nobleman found the whole south country in the hands of the Covenanters, supplies of arms ordered from abroad, and the Castle of Edinburgh threatened. This movement was strongly supported by Glasgow town council, which at considerable cost maintained commissioners in Edinburgh for the purpose.⁷

The Covenanters now informed the Marquess that they would submit their complaints only to a General Assembly and free Parliament, and when he returned to England to confer with the king, they declared that if a favourable answer was not returned by 5th August they would proceed as they thought best.

Glasgow town council, with its usual shrewdness, already foresaw the possibility of recourse to arms. On 1st August it ordered all fencible persons to have their arms and armour ready for mustering at twenty-four hours' notice. No one was to lend his armour to anyone else, and all persons unprovided with weapons were required to procure them forthwith under fine of £20. Fifty muskets, staves, bandoliers, and pikes were ordered from Flanders; sixty young men were to be chosen and trained to arms; and for their training a drill instructor was engaged to come from Edinburgh at forty shillings a day and his horse hire.⁸ Such a resolution shows how rapidly

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 389,

⁸ *Ibid.* i. 390, 391.

public opinion on the question at issue was now ripening throughout the country. Nor was a decisive movement to be long delayed.

When the Marquess of Hamilton returned to Edinburgh on 10th August he brought powers for the summoning of Parliament and the convening of a General Assembly. It was to be the fate of Charles I., however, to make all his concessions to public opinion a day too late. By this time the Covenanters had begun to feel power, and had made up their minds to demand nothing less than the complete abolition of episcopacy, and the rescinding of the Articles of Perth and other legislation upon which it was based. Feeling the force of the rising storm, Hamilton hastened back to London, and laid the seriousness of the whole situation before the king. Then at last, when his concessions had no longer any appearance of graciousness, Charles gave way. On 9th September he agreed to recall the prayer-book and canons, to abolish the Court of High Commission, to assent to the repeal of the Perth Articles, and otherwise to give way on the points upon which he had hitherto most strenuously insisted. Proclamation of these intentions was made on 22nd September, and arrangements were made for a meeting of the General Assembly at Glasgow on 21st November.⁹ It was a meeting destined to be fraught with more serious and far-reaching results than anyone could then foresee.

In preparation for the great ecclesiastical gathering to be held in the city, the magistrates of Glasgow made preparations on a notable scale. In order that the noblemen, commissioners of presbyteries, and others, should be suitably accommodated officials were appointed to allocate lodgings, stabling, etc., and the citizens were forbidden, under serious penalties, from letting or lending their houses or stables to anyone without permission.¹⁰ Guards were also appointed for keeping the peace in the town by day and night, and the inhabitants were ordered to light up

⁹ Grub, iii. 22 ; Burton, vi. 203.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, i. 392.

the street by setting out candles and lanterns or "bowatts."¹ The cathedral or High Kirk, also, was repaired, the floor of the nave being put into order, and certain windows in the choir, which had been built up, being opened again and provided with glass.² Further, in order to take no chances, the town council appointed its new provost, Patrick Bell, to be its representative or commissioner to the Assembly, with the express stipulation that he should not vote on any essential matter without consulting the city fathers.³

Following the example which had been shown them by the king, the Covenanters took measures to make sure that the persons appointed to attend the Assembly should be favourable to their views, and though the Privy Council forbade members of Assembly to bring more than their ordinary retinue, the Covenanters came to the city armed and in large numbers, to make sure that no attempt was made to overturn the proceedings by violence.

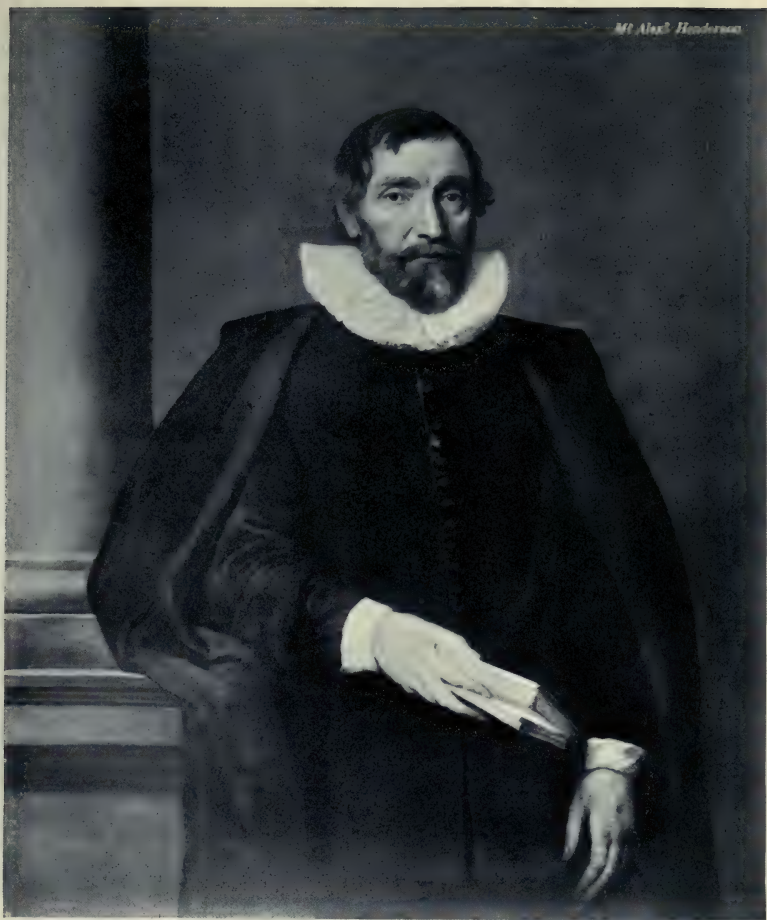
When the Assembly met on 21st November the cathedral was crowded from floor to roof. The Marquess of Hamilton, who had been in Glasgow for four days, and had watched the great concourse coming together, took his seat, as High Commissioner, in a chair of state under a canopy, with the chief officers of the Government around him. In front of him stood a table for the Moderator and the Clerk of the Assembly. Down the centre of the church at a long table sat the nobles and lesser barons who attended as lay elders; and on seats rising around were the ministers and commissioners of burghs. The galleries, specially erected, were crowded with the public, among whom were many ladies. Even the high clerestory sills were occupied, and in one of the high passages sat young nobles and men of rank to watch the proceedings.⁴ None of the bishops or episcopal dignitaries attended, and the Assembly was made

¹ *Burgh Records*, i. 393, 395.

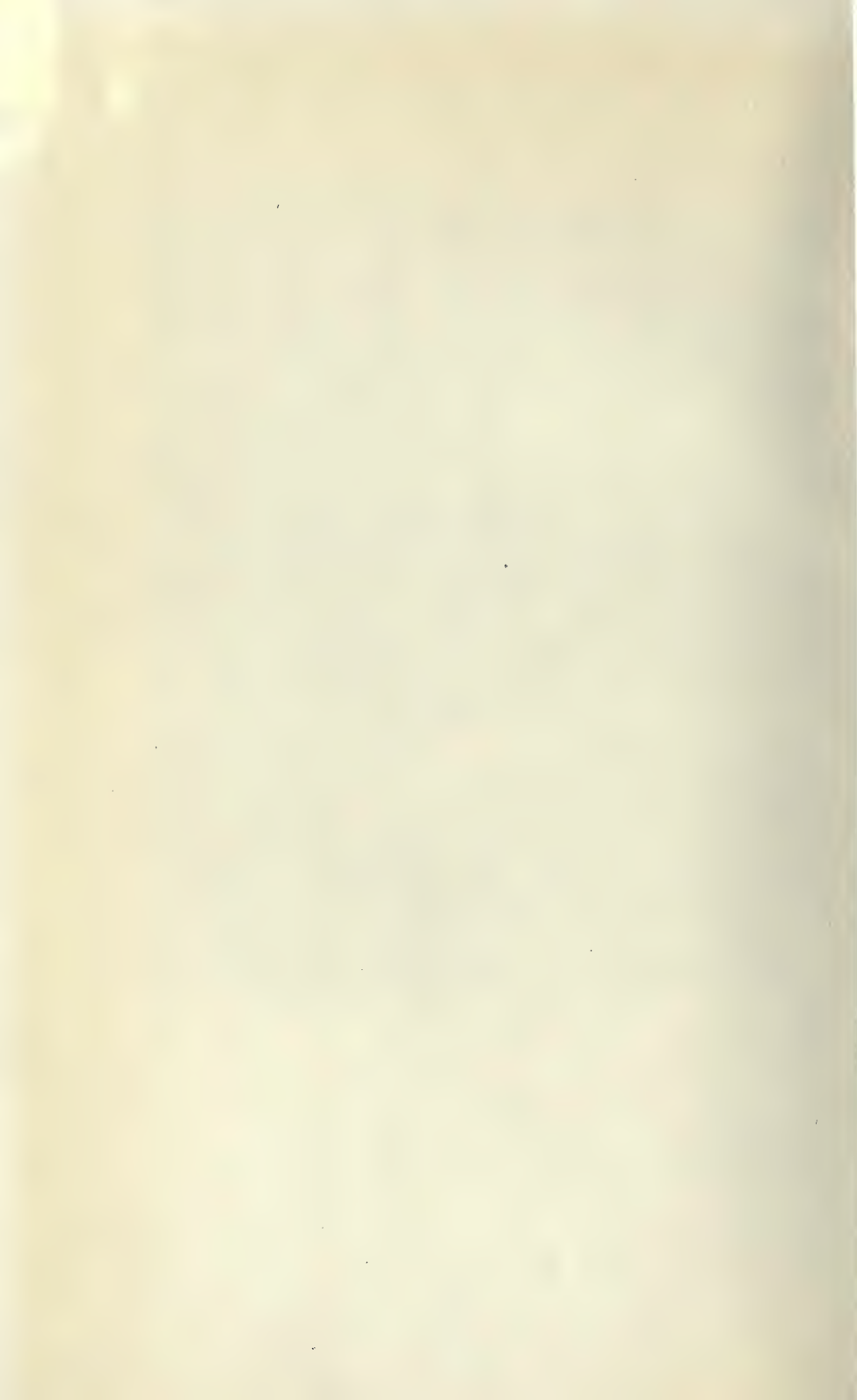
² *Ibid.* i. 392.

³ *Ibid.* i. 393.

⁴ Baillie, i. 123; Gordon, i. 157.



ALEXANDER HENDERSON.



up of a hundred and forty ministers and a hundred laymen. Only one or two of the ministers wore their gowns, and the nobles and gentlemen carried their swords. Thus the scene was set for the momentous drama.

At the opening, John Bell, one of the Glasgow ministers, acted as moderator, then, after the royal commission had been read and the commissions of members handed in, Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, was appointed moderator, and Archibald Johnston of Warriston, clerk. These were the men who had drawn up the National Covenant, and their appointment indicated the intentions of the Assembly.

It was not, however, till a week later that the proceedings came to a crisis. A formal accusation of the fourteen bishops had been tabled by the Edinburgh Presbytery, and a document of dissent and protest signed by the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Ross, and Brechin had been handed in. On the 28th the moderator said he would take the vote of the Assembly as to whether they could lawfully decide the matter. At this the High Commissioner, in the name and by authority of the king, commanded the Assembly to proceed no further. The moderator replied and the clerk proceeded to read a protest, but the High Commissioner declared the Assembly dissolved, and, accompanied by the Lords of Council, left the cathedral. Next day he caused a proclamation to be made at Glasgow Cross prohibiting further meetings of the Assembly, and commanding the members to depart from the city within twenty-four hours.

The proclamation, however, was not obeyed. In particular the Earl of Argyll, one of the High Commissioner's Assessors, refused to concur with it, returned to the Assembly, and declared his adherence to it. This act was the turning point which led him, first to the head of the Government of Scotland, and afterwards to the block.

On the same day, the 29th November, Provost Bell called the town council together, and asked their direction. After full deliberation the council decided, by a majority of votes, that he should vote for the Assembly continuing to sit, notwithstanding any proclamation, and that he should vote also for the Assembly taking upon itself to judge and decide in the accusation against the bishops.⁵

The Assembly thereafter resumed its session and proceeded to pass several acts of the greatest import. On 4th December it declared that the last six great Assemblies, at Linlithgow, Glasgow, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Perth, had been unfree, unlawful, and null. On the 6th it abolished the book of canons, the book of common prayer, the book of ordination, and the Court of High Commission, and deposed and excommunicated the bishops; and on the 8th it ordered episcopacy to be removed out of the kirk. It continued to sit till 20th December, a month in all, passing Acts for the future government and rights of the kirk, and concluding with a supplication to the king craving that he should approve and ratify the proceedings.⁶ This supplication was actually presented to King Charles by the Marquess of Hamilton, but no answer was returned to it, and both sides prepared for civil war.⁷

Thus, in Glasgow and within the walls of the cathedral, was the gauntlet first thrown down to challenge the arbitrary government of Charles I. From that moment the struggle continued till the king's head fell under the executioner's axe at Whitehall. Its effect upon the fortunes of Archbishop Lindsay was only less tragic. His rule of Glasgow had been mild and moderate, and it is said he was opposed to forcing Laud's liturgy on the people. But he was not the less rigor-

⁵ *Burgh Records*, i. 394.

⁶ *Acts of General Assembly*, 1638-1842, p. 5, etc.; Gordon's *Hist. of Scots Affairs*; Baillie's *Letters*; Cunningham, ii. 12.

⁷ Baillie's *Letters*, i. 187, 188.

ously deposed and excommunicated. Being already in poor health he retired to England, where he died at Newcastle in or before 1644. According to one writer he was then in such utter destitution that he had to be buried at the expense of the governor of the town.⁸

⁸ Keith, 202, 265; McCrie's *Melville*, 221; *Charters and Documents*, i. 331.

CHAPTER XX

GEORGE HUTCHESON, NOTARY, BANKER, AND PHILANTHROPIST

WHILE political affairs were in this critical posture throughout the country there died a man who stands conspicuous as a type of the better class of Glasgow citizen from that time till now. Sir Walter Scott has stereotyped the Glasgow shopkeeper magnates of a century later in his picture of the worthy, pawky, generous, and warm-hearted Bailie Nicol Jarvie. A portrait, equally true and interesting, of the professional class in bygone Glasgow, is furnished by the career and character of George Hutcheson, the original founder of Hutchesons' Hospital.

All the known facts regarding the Hutcheson family, and in particular regarding the two brothers, George and Thomas, who founded the most important charitable institution in the city, have been brought together in the history of the hospital and school by their collateral descendant, Dr. William H. Hill.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century the Hutchisons or Hutchesons appear in the annals of the city as substantial people, making gifts to the Church, and holding office in the College ; and in the next century, the days of James V. and Mary Queen of Scots, their sons are found enrolled as students of the University. They were rentallers, or tenants of the lands of Gairbraid, a mile to the west of the city, and when, after the Reformation, the old annual rents were converted into feu-duties, they became the owners of that property. Thomas Hutcheson, the younger son of John Hutcheson of Gairbraid,

acquired from the archbishop in 1579 the two-merk land of Lambhill, and from the Lord Feu-farmer, Walter Stewart of Blantyre, in 1587, the merkland of Hutchesontoun at Nether Carmyle. He had also other properties in Provanside, Gallowgate, Drygate, and elsewhere. He had at the same time a house on the north side of Trongate, apparently adjoining the tolbooth, which was afterwards the dwelling-house and place of business of his son, the notary, George.

Thomas Hutcheson had two sons, George the eldest and Thomas the youngest of his family, with three daughters coming between ; he died about the year 1594. His son George was then about forty years of age. The mother of the latter was Helen, sister of Sir William Herbertson, a Roman priest, and probably a cousin of the Hutchesons.

By the time he succeeded to his father's considerable estates, George Hutcheson was evidently in a substantial position as a writer or procurator and notary in the city. In 1587 he appears as the notary acting in the infeftment of Walter Stewart, afterwards first Lord Blantyre, as Commendator, or lay possessor, of the barony of Glasgow. That he was a man of strong passions is evident from the next item of his career in the annals of the city. In the records of Glasgow kirk-session in 1588 it is set forth that, having become the father of a " demesell bairn " by Elizabeth or Elspeth Craig, and having declared his willingness to marry the lady, he is ordered to make his public repentance on the first Sunday forenoon, and to marry " the said Elizabeth " within one month. For due compliance with these injunctions his father became his security to the amount of forty pounds. Elspeth Craig is believed to have been a sister or daughter of John Craig, writer and notary public in Glasgow, and the union thus irregularly begun lasted for the long period of forty-four years ; but there is no evidence that any other children were born of the marriage. Outside the marriage tie, however, the redoubtable notary had another

daughter, Janet, who lived and ended her days in Holland, and it is tragic to find that she came to be dependent on the public bounty of the city, of which her father was so great a benefactor. In 1679 the Burgh Treasurer was ordered "to pay to John Craig ten dukadounes, quhilk he is to send to Holland to Janet Hutcheson, naturall daughter to umquhile George Hutchesone, for her supply," and the payment was to be repeated yearly during her life.¹ The gratuity was not long required. In 1684 the same records contain an order to the Dean of Guild to pay £30 Scots to Jean Main, "for helpin to pay the funerall of Janet Hutchesoune, ane pensioner of the toune, who deceist in Holland."

The Presbytery records also show that in 1601 George Hutcheson and a certain Ard Eglinton had drawn their "whingers" and engaged in a brawl in the High Kirk. And as late as 1633 an action of lawburrows was taken out against Hutcheson under a penalty of 400 merks by his neighbour at Partick, John Ross of Stobcross, to assure that his wife, bairns, men, tenants, and servants should be "harmless and skaithless" from Hutcheson's interference.

But these somewhat questionable episodes in his private career do not seem to have affected in any way George Hutcheson's repute as a citizen and man of business. In 1589, in the docquet to a sasine in favour of Mrs. Marion Luke of Claythorn, he excuses himself for not writing the whole docquet himself, as he should have done, by the statement that he was much engaged with other business. Part of that business was the feuing of the lands of the Barony and Regality of Glasgow, on behalf of the Commendator of Blantyre, to the old yearly tenants of the archbishops, and this work, according to Sir Robert Douglas of Glenbervie, "he performed to good purpose." He also in 1601 acted as procurator for the Commendator in presenting Mr. David Wemyss, the worthy minister of the city,

¹ See also *Burgh Records*, 24th July, 1680.



THOMAS HUTCHESON.



to the vacant parsonage of Glasgow. Probably a good deal of the initiative for these far-seeing acts lay with George Hutcheson himself, and to that far-sightedness the city no doubt owed much of its subsequent happiness and prosperity.

Hutcheson appears also to have acted in many matters as the Glasgow law agent both for Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, and for the archbishop. A charter by the duke endowing a bursary at the College in 1604 was written and witnessed by him, and his name also appears in a charter by which the archbishop, three years later, granted the College certain additional bolls of meal from the mill at Partick. It is true that, when he applied for the clerkship of the Dean of Guild Court in 1605 he was placed only second in a leet of four, the appointment going to Archibald Heygait, the Town Clerk and Clerk of the Burgh Court. But Heygait, as has been already seen, had special influences at work in his favour at that time. Hutcheson, all the same, was entrusted with important business by the Town Council. When the bailies of Glasgow and Dunbarton brought an action against a Dutchman, John Lubbart, master and owner of an Amsterdam ship, for disposing of his cargo of timber privately in Glasgow before offering it to the burgh authorities, George Hutcheson was the agent employed by the city.

From entries in the munimenta it is evident that he also acted as agent for the University. In 1606 and 1608 that body was "pursuing" a certain John Stewart. In the former year he received £4 for advising the process at Edinburgh, and 11s. "for ane pynt of wyne quhen the proces was resavit"; and in the latter year he was paid £6 for his trouble in pursuit of the same John Stewart before the Commissary Court at Hamilton. Again, ten years later, he received £13 6s. 8d., with £3 6s. 8d. for drink money to his men, for carrying out the sasine of the kirks of Kilbride and Renfrew; and in 1628 and 1629 he acted for both parties in charters of confirmation, novodamus, and

ratification of teinds and immunities granted by Archbishop Law to the College.

That the favours were not all on one side is shown by the fact that in 1632, when the Principal of the University was engaged in extending the buildings of the College, Hutcheson appears among the subscribers as the contributor of 100 merks.

A transaction which to our eyes at the present day appears somewhat questionable, is that by which the Glasgow notary became a Judge-Depute in the Commissary Courts of Glasgow and Hamilton. The Commissary Judge appointed by Archbishop Law was John Boyle of Kelburne, ancestor of the Earls of Glasgow, "a gentleman of so great legal knowledge and integrity as to have had the honour of being appointed to revise and improve the laws of Scotland." Kelburne did not himself act, but appointed a deputy. That deputy was George Hutcheson, and for the appointment Hutcheson paid Kelburne £900 Scots per annum. The commission, granted with consent of the archbishop, bears that Kelburne was too much distracted by the king's business and his own to perform his duties in the Commissary Court, while Hutcheson was well known to be in every way qualified. The latter was therefore empowered to pronounce and issue decreets, sentences, and interlocutors, confirm testaments, and examine witnesses. The document has its counterpart at the present day in the commission granted to a sheriff-substitute. There are, however, two important differences, significant of the contrast between the ideas of administering justice at that time and now. The sheriff-substitute of to-day does not pay for his judgeship, nor does the sheriff-principal oblige himself to abide by his substitute's decisions "without any revocation or gainsaying whatsoever."

While holding probably the foremost position as a notary and procurator in the city, George Hutcheson also carried on a



GEORGE HUTCHESON'S "KIST."



large business as a banker and moneylender. In this business Scotsmen seem to have given the lead to England, where the London goldsmiths only began to receive money and lend it out at interest and to honour their customers' cheques in 1645.² In Scotland George Heriot had been lending money to the king and queen on the security of the royal jewels as early at least as 1599.³ His business, however, was mostly confined to Edinburgh and the East of Scotland. In Glasgow and the West the Union of the Crowns in 1603 produced many developments. Industry and trade began to grow, and the city was able to build itself a stately new tolbooth. The colonizing project suggested to King James by Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, began to waken golden dreams in the minds of the people. And, even more alluring, the possibilities opened to Scotsmen of winning appointments and titles at the English court made an irresistible appeal. For all these enterprises money was required. Among owners of heritable property the usual proceeding was to borrow money on the security of a wadset or mortgage over their estates. The proceeding, however, was cumbrous and expensive. For a merchant, also, whose possessions were cargoes at sea and widely scattered book debts, it was not available. In these circumstances George Hutcheson's capital came into great request. His plan was to lend money on simple bonds by the borrower, and the security of two or more persons of substance. For the drawing of these early promissory notes he allowed his clerk to charge no more than three halfpence sterling, and his own interest was seldom more than eight per cent. He must, therefore, be regarded as the earliest banker in Glasgow, anticipating the foundation of the Bank of Scotland by some three quarters of a century. Lists of these bonds still in existence, which were handed to his three sisters and his sister-in-law after his brother's death, show the sums in which he dealt to have ranged from a

² *Annals of Commerce*, ii. 427.

³ *Memoir of George Heriot*, p. 6.

hundred merks to five thousand, while among his borrowers were Sir James Hamilton of Fingalton, Cuninghame of Carlung, the lairds of Gadgirth and Achinemes, Sir Robert Montgomerie, Lord Montgomerie, and the magistrates and town council of Glasgow itself.⁴ The last-named seem to have paid the interest on their loan on at least one occasion by crediting "the said George" with a portion of the stent or rates payable by him.⁵

The notary had his counting-house or chambers on the ground floor of his house next the tolbooth, up the gable of which he paid the Corporation two hundred merks for the right to train his chimney vents. In his business room stood "a long fixed oak table, with his papers at one end, and at the other a large silver drinking tankard, replenished with wine or ale, for the refreshment, without ceremony or invitation, of his clients." His bonds, ready money, and charters were kept in his bedroom in a Dutch-built, spring-locked chest, woven of strips of iron, now preserved in the Faculty of Procurators' Library. He had a stable behind his house, a garden at hand, and another property on the south side of Trongate, opposite the present Hutcheson Street. Also he built for himself a country house at the mouth of the Kelvin in Partick, on lands which had belonged to the archbishop. This house latterly, when a ruin, was popularly known as "the Bishop's Castle." It is so named by Chalmers in his *Caledonia* (iii. 629), and the ancient country seat of the archbishops very probably occupied the same site. But Hutcheson's original contract with a Kil-winning mason for the building still exists. It shows that the standard of measurement was to be "the said Georges awin fute." The price was five hundred and thirty merks, including a hundred merks "in satisfaction of all morning and efternoonis drinks, disjoynes, Sondays meitt, drink at onlaying of lyntalls, or onie uther thing that can be cravit fra ye said

⁴ *History Hutchesons' Hospital*, p. 27.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 5th June, 1637, 14th Jan. 1638.



HUTCHESONS' HOSPITAL, TRONGATE (FRONT VIEW).



George, in any sorte." The house had large walled gardens and considerable lands belonging to it, and, with its beautiful situation, spoke eloquently for the good taste of its owner.⁶

George Hutcheson's other possessions included the lands of Barrowfield to the east of Glasgow, on which Bridgeton is now built ; Gartsherrie, Auchengray, and Caldercruix in the Monklands ; Yoker and Blawarthill to the west, which he acquired for 13,000 merks ; Deanfield in Renfrew ; Grainges in the parish of Dunlop in Ayrshire ; Over and Nether Gairbraid and part of Garioch in what is now Maryhill ; Ramshorn and Meadowflat, including what is now George Square and the site of the City Chambers in the city itself ; and the paternal estate of Lambhill to the north of modern Glasgow. He had also eighty-seven tenants paying him rent in kind—straw, hens, capons, herrings, and shop rents, while half the landowners in the West of Scotland, from the Earl of Wigton to Colquhoun of Luss were paying him money interest and annual rents.⁷

Such was George Hutcheson, probably the most capable and prosperous professional man in the Glasgow of his time. His character, however, is further revealed in the institution which so nobly perpetuates his name among the citizens of Glasgow at the present day. He died on the day after Christmas in 1639, and according to his own desire was buried in the tomb of his family on the east side of the Cathedral. In his last will and testament, which he declares to have been written while he was "somquhat seik in bodie, bot of perfyte mind and memorie," he left several kindly legacies to servants and relatives, fulfilled his wife's desire that he should give his sister's daughter fifty merks yearly during her life, and appointed as his heir and executor his brother Thomas Hutcheson, whom he exhorted "to follow sage advyce of counsell of friends in his

⁶ Hamilton of Wishaw's *Description of Lanarkshire*, p. 29 ; Hugh Macdonald's *Rambles Round Glasgow ; Hist. Hutchesons' Hospital*, p. 29.

⁷ *Hist. Hutchesons' Hospital*, p. 33.

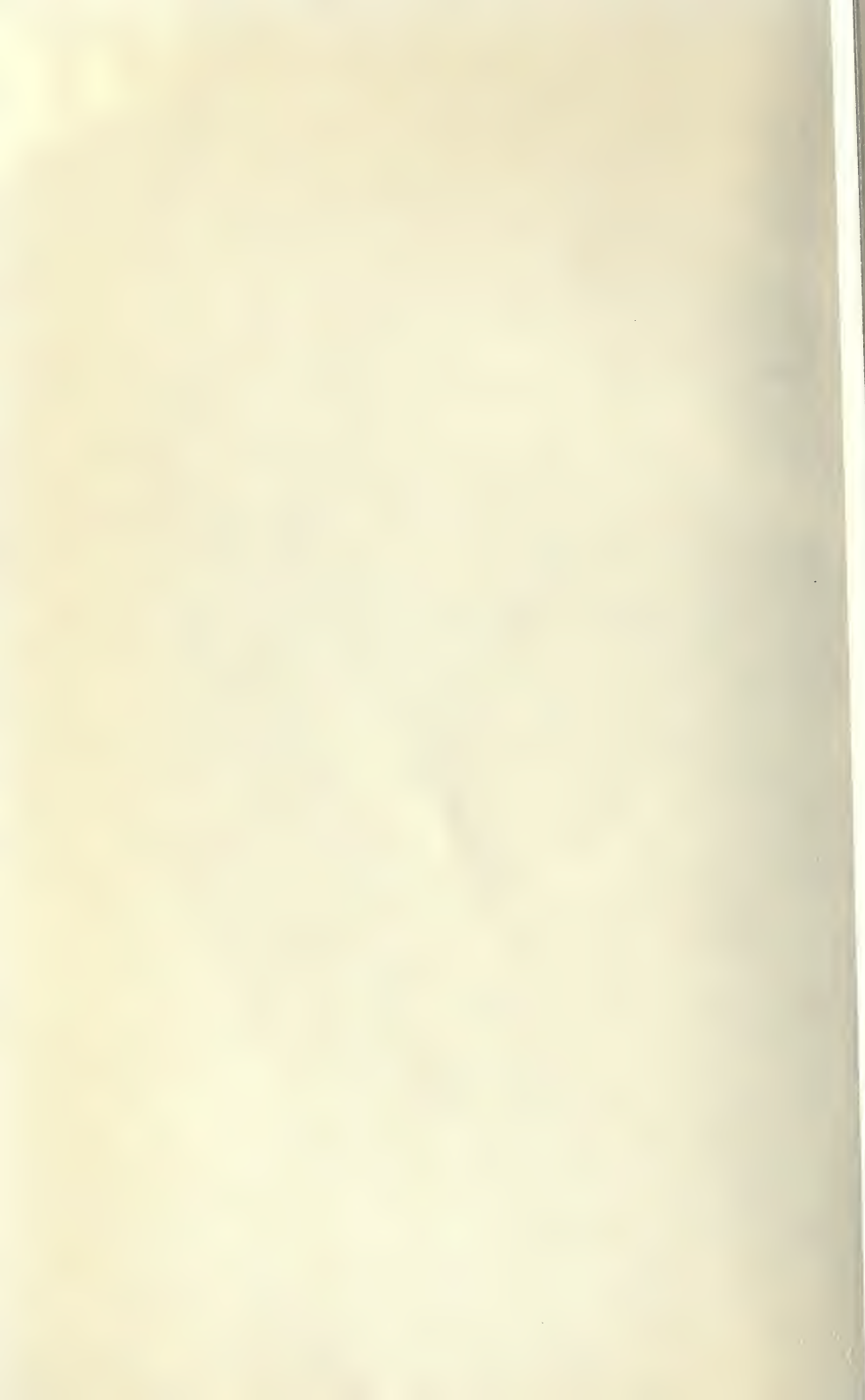
adoes, because it hes not pleased God to give him sic knowledge as his place and affers now requires."

This brother, some thirty-five years younger than himself, George Hutcheson had reared and educated at the University. At first he was intended for the ministry, but took to law, and by his brother's influence was appointed Registrar of Sasines to the city. He was a graduate, a man of culture, and on terms of friendship with the professors of the College, subscribing £1000 to enlarge the library building and 2000 merks to found a bursary as an endowment for the librarian. Between the two brothers a very tender regard appears to have existed, and after the death of George Hutcheson his wishes were most loyally carried out by the younger man.

About that time two very notable benevolent institutions had been founded in Scotland. George Heriot, the Edinburgh goldsmith and financier, who figures as "Jingling Geordie" in Sir Walter Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel*, and who died in 1624, "mortified" or bequeathed a large sum of money for the foundation of the "hospital" which still commemorates his name in Edinburgh. The hospital itself was not built till 1759. Nine years after him, in 1633, died John Cowane, a wealthy burgher of Stirling, who in similar fashion "mortified" a considerable sum for the founding of a hospital or almshouse. His hospital, which is still one of the great benevolent institutions of Stirling, was built in 1639, the year in which George Hutcheson died. These beneficent bequests may or may not have furnished a suggestion to the wealthy Glasgow notary, but they show that the idea was in the air in his time. Whether he was inspired by a movement fashionable at that day, or was simply following the example of earlier founders of similar institutions in Glasgow itself, like Bishop Muirhead, who founded St. Nicholas Hospital in 1474, George Hutcheson ten days before his death bequeathed a tenement and twenty thousand merks, or £1111 2s. 2d. sterling, to found an almshouse for aged, decrepit, and destitute



HUTCHESONS' HOSPITAL, TRONGATE (BACK VIEW).



men of good character. The foundation, he calculated, would support eleven beneficiaries, who were to be lodged in the Hospital, provided with fuel and a yearly gown, and receive for their maintenance four shillings Scots, or fourpence sterling per day. His brother and heir, Thomas Hutcheson, not only ratified the bequest, but added 10,500 merks (£583 6s. 8d. sterling) and several other sums to the endowment, and himself laid the foundation stone of the hospital on the north side of Trongate in 1641. In the same month of March Thomas "mortified" an adjoining tenement in Trongate and 20,200 merks for the lodging and education of twelve orphan boys, sons of burgesses of the town.

The amount bequeathed by the two brothers for hospital and school has been estimated to amount altogether to £4017 15s. 6d.⁸ By Thomas Hutcheson's direction the funds were invested in "the cheappist and best haldin arrabill lands they can gett to buy therewith, near to the said Burgh." By later benefactors several smaller sums have been added, and to-day the property of Hutchesons' Trust is valued at considerably more than £400,000 sterling. Hutcheson Street, off Trongate, occupies the site of the original hospital and its garden acre behind; the statues of George and Thomas Hutcheson decorate the front of the later hospital building opposite the head of the street; and on the south side of the river a considerable district, the land in which the greater part of the funds of the hospital was ultimately invested, is known as Hutchesontown.

⁸ *Hist. Hutchesons' Hospital*, p. 65.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CIVIL WAR

It seems not a little curious to reflect that while the notary public, George Hutcheson, and his brother Thomas, were quietly laying the foundations of their almshouse for the aged and their school for the youth of Glasgow, that city and the whole of Scotland should be preparing to play a vigorous and warlike part in the great rebellion against Charles I. In England that king had all but gained his purpose, the establishment of absolute monarchy. After several angry and heated collisions he had dissolved Parliament at Westminster in 1629, and for many years had continued to govern the country south of the Tweed by his own royal prerogative. The courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, acting on the authority of the king alone, and under the direction of his arbitrary minister, Strafford, had by unheard-of tyranny and cruelties reduced the nation to a state of fear and passive obedience. At the same time, by levying the so-called "ship money" throughout the kingdom, Charles made himself independent of a House of Commons' vote of supplies. In these circumstances it was an act of the sheerest folly on the part of the king to attempt such a provocative act as the forcing of Archbishop Laud's liturgy on the people of Scotland. The riot in St. Giles' Cathedral, the signing of the National Covenant, and the deposition of the bishops by the General Assembly at Glasgow in 1638 were the immediate results.

With something like a common impulse the country prepared to defend its liberties by force of arms. Even before the holding of the General Assembly which abolished episcopacy, Glasgow was purchasing pikes and muskets in Flanders, and training sixty young men in their use.¹ It became known that the king was taking steps to establish his authority by force of arms. He had ordered supplies of weapons from Holland for 2,000 horse and 14,000 foot, had secured Carlisle and Berwick as bases for operations, and was trying to raise £200,000 for the expenses of an invasion of the north.

As early as the month of March the king had collected an army of 20,000 men at York, and sent a fleet of nineteen ships of war, under the Duke of Hamilton, into the Firth of Forth. These preparations were avowedly for the purpose of forcing the king's will in the matter of church government on the people of Scotland.

Nor was episcopacy without friends in Scotland itself. In particular a majority of the people of Aberdeen refused to sign the National Covenant, and, headed by the Marquess of Huntly, were prepared to defend their opinions. In this crisis there came to the front, as usually happens in a great national emergency, a notable personage.

Mugdock Castle, a few miles to the north-west of Glasgow, had for a considerable period been the chief seat of the Grahams, Earls of Montrose. James Graham, head of the house at this time, had signed the National Covenant, and was one of the most active leaders of the Covenanting party. With a sum of twenty-five dollars he had headed a subscription to meet the expenses of resisting the royal aggression. He also headed a committee of Covenanting ministers sent to Aberdeen to induce the people there to adopt the Covenant. That mission resulted only in wordy warfare between the clerics of the two parties, and, as a more effective method of dealing with

¹ *Burgh Records*, i. 389, 390.

the "malignants" of the north before the menace of Charles himself in the south became formidable, an army of between three and four thousand men was raised and placed under the command of Montrose.²

Already the hint of possible hostilities was attracting back to Scotland numbers of the soldiers of fortune, younger sons of Scottish families, among whom it had been the fashion to seek a livelihood and perhaps distinction in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus. Most notable of these, General Alexander Leslie, made his way over from Sweden "in a small bark," thus avoiding interference from the English warships on the coast.³ He was appointed Montrose's chief of staff, and soon had the army of the Covenant in good fighting order.

While this was being done, Montrose learned that a party of the Aberdeenshire Covenanters, who were to meet at Turriff, was to be broken up by a strong force of Gordons under the Marquess of Huntly, who had been named the King's lieutenant in the north. With the energy for which he afterwards became famous, Montrose, with a small force, not two hundred strong, made his way by drove roads and unfrequented paths through the mountains to the place, and had his men posted behind the churchyard wall as a breastwork before Huntly appeared. On finding matters in this position the Chief of the Gordons, though at the head of a force of two thousand men, found it judicious to retire. Montrose then with his whole army marched on Aberdeen, took possession of the city, and levied ten thousand merks from the inhabitants.⁴ On that occasion this brilliant general made the mistake of his life. Seizing Huntly, to whom he had given a safe-conduct to come into Aberdeen, he carried him a prisoner to Edinburgh. This action was never forgiven by the great noble of the north, and at a later day, when his help might have made all the difference between success and

² Hill Burton, vi. 233-236.

³ Spalding's *Memorials*, i. 130.

⁴ Spalding's *Memorials*, i. 154-172.

failure to the enterprise of Montrose, he stood aloof, or gave him only half-hearted support.

Two months later, in June, 1639, the king having appointed Huntly's second son his lieutenant in the north, and the Royalists having drawn to a head at Aberdeen, Montrose was sent there again, defeated their forces between Muchalls and Dunnottar, forced the Bridge of Dee, and took possession of the city. In these transactions the Glasgow general gave ample evidence of the able strategy and amazing energy which were to distinguish his short but brilliant career on the Royalist side a few years later. In that short first campaign of his in the north the earliest blows were struck of the great Civil War which was to ruin so many noble houses in both kingdoms, and to bring the head of Charles I. himself to the block.

Glasgow, meanwhile, had not confined itself to the housing of the General Assembly which threw down the gauntlet to the king, and to providing the leader who struck the first warlike blows. In December, 1638, it spent £1,888 8s. 8d. in the purchase of a hundred muskets, thirty pikes, and four hundred-weight of powder, and in March, 1639, it paid £600 and 160 dollars for a further supply of muskets, powder, and match brought by the provost from Edinburgh. In February the town council ordered that every burgess of the city should provide himself with arms, under a penalty of £20, and in April it resolved to raise and pay a company of one hundred men for the army which was being raised to oppose the king's invasion of Scotland. This company was raised by tuck of drum sent through the city streets, and George Porterfield, member of a well-known Glasgow family, was appointed its captain.⁵ The city was also divided into eight quarters, each with a captain and sergeant to train its inhabitants in the use of arms, and within the next few weeks, with resolution and energy, additional forces were raised and further sums were spent on arms and stores.⁶

⁵ *Burgh Records*, i. 395-399.

⁶ *Ibid.* i. 400-401.

Throughout the country the popular party was equally active. Since the accession of James VI. to the English throne the strongholds of Scotland had been allowed to fall into a defenceless state. These were seized in March by the Covenanters. The castles of Edinburgh, Dunbarton, Dalkeith, Stirling, Hamilton, and Douglas were thus in their hands. At the same time Leith and the little Fifeshire ports were fortified against the English fleet, 30,000 stands of arms were provided, and an army of 20,000 men was embodied and actively drilled.⁷ A proclamation from the king denouncing under the penalties of treason all who should not accept its terms was refused publication at Edinburgh, the authorities there pointing out that such penalties could only be awarded by Parliament or the Courts of Justice after trial and proof.⁸ On 20th May the Scots army paraded under General Alexander Leslie on the links at Leith, a striking evidence of the Covenanters' determination and efficiency, and next day the march was begun towards the Border. It was by no means only an army of the common people. Its "crowners," or colonels, were nearly all noblemen. Montrose led a regiment of over 1,500 men, and the Glasgow company marched under Lord Montgomery.⁹

At Dunglass the Scottish leaders were met by a proclamation from the king, who was now with his army at Newcastle. He declared that he had no intention of invading Scotland if his subjects of that realm showed timeous obedience. On the other hand, if the Scots came within ten miles of the Border they would be regarded as invaders of England, and attacked by the English forces.¹⁰ Desiring not to precipitate hostilities the Scottish army entrenched itself on Duns Law, while Charles advanced with his troops to Berwick. From the king's army it could be seen that Leslie, with the skill of a practised soldier, had chosen a position which closed all roads into Scotland, and

⁷ Burton, vi. 258.

⁸ Burnet's *Memoirs*.

⁹ Baillie's *Letters*, i. 211.

¹⁰ Burton, vi. 263.

it was known that his army was in much better fighting order than the English levies. Faced with certainty of defeat if he attacked, Charles came to terms. As a result of a conference in which the king himself took part, it was arranged that a free Assembly and a free Parliament should be held in Edinburgh in August, and that meanwhile both armies should be disbanded and the royal fortresses restored by the Covenanters to the king. It was well known that the new free Assembly and free Parliament to be called by the king would do exactly the things which had been done by the Glasgow Assembly which had defied his authority, but the arrangement "saved the face" of Charles and allowed of a peaceful settlement.

It was while these negotiations were going on that Montrose, who had been despatched to the north, fought the battle at Muchalls and forced the Bridge of Dee as already mentioned. Thus the first round of the Civil War had been fought, and it had not been won by Charles.

During the negotiations Glasgow continued its military preparations with the utmost vigour. The eight companies of its inhabitants were drilled weekly by their captains. A second battalion, under John Anderson, a cordiner and former bailie, was sent on active service. On 13th June the inhabitants were ordered by sound of drum to bring all their silver plate into a common stock, and walls with gates were built at the most vulnerable approaches to the town. By reason of the peace that was patched up with the king these defences were not immediately required, but they sufficiently showed the temper of the citizens.¹ Equally significant, when the Assembly met in Edinburgh and re-enacted with the king's authority the proceedings of the Glasgow Assembly of the previous year abolishing episcopacy, was the speech of one of the Glasgow ministers, old Mr. John Bell, who was one of its members: "My voice nor my tongue cannot express the joy of my heart

¹ *Burgh Records*, i. 401-2.

to see this torn-down kirk restored to her beauty. The Lord make us thankful. Lord, bless His Majesty and Commissioner." ²

Following the abolition of episcopacy the town council of Glasgow, on 1st October, 1639, elected its own provost and three bailies.³ Thus for the second time the town appeared to have been freed from the overlordship of its bishops.

But no era of peace had dawned upon the country. The king's assent to the abolition of prelacy had been obtained by force, and certain acts and letters which came to light showed that the assent was not sincere.⁴ On the other hand the Scottish Parliament was discovered making overtures for help to France.⁵ The Scottish report of the treaty with Charles was publicly burned by his order in London. The king did not attend the Scottish Parliament as he had promised, and tried to stop its proceedings by again and again adjourning it. In the end, on 2nd June, 1640, it met, and ignored his order for further prorogation. When it sent Lord Dunfermline and Lord Loudon to Court to explain the position they were refused an audience, and Lord Loudon was thrown into prison. In these circumstances both sides prepared for war.⁶

Leslie again got together the army of the Covenant at Dunglass—twenty thousand foot and twenty-five hundred horse. At Coldstream, on 20th August, 1640, Montrose leading the van, the Tweed was crossed, and at Newburn, five miles above Newcastle, with the help of some cannon made of tin cores, leather, and rope, Leslie forced the passage of the Tyne.⁷

Meanwhile, the proceedings in Glasgow were probably typical of those in other burghs throughout the country. On

² Peterkin's *Records*, 250-252 ; Burton, vi. 273.

³ *Burgh Records*, i. 405.

⁴ Burnet's *Memoirs*, 150-154.

⁵ Burton, vi. 288.

⁶ Burton, vi. 292 ; *Act. Parl.* v. 259, 260.

⁷ Burton, i. 304.

14th March the drum was sent through the streets warning the citizens to have their arms in readiness. On 11th April the town council ordered the purchase of forty additional muskets and twenty pikes. On the 25th Henry Gibson was paid £40 for drilling the townsfolk. And on the 29th a general muster was held, men who failed to appear being fined £40.⁸ On 2nd May George Porterfield was "continowit capitane to goe out with the first companie," and £95 gs. 1d. was disbursed "for outreiking of allevin sojers to the commoun service." On 27th May Patrick Bell, the late provost, was authorized to attend the meeting of Parliament, and, in case the king should prorogue it again, was empowered to support the majority of members in continuing to sit and transact business "for the publict good and preservatioun of thair religioun, liberties, lyfis, and estaitis."⁹ Through Patrick Bell, also, the town council contributed sixteen thousand merks (£888 17s. 4½d.) "for the commoun effaires of the countrie."¹⁰ On 9th June a roll was made up of all persons in the city capable of bearing arms, and on the 13th it was resolved to despatch 144 men with their officers under Captain Porterfield, who was given for the pay of his men the sum of £1,000 and promised another £1,000 within ten days.¹

Besides the young men of the city who thus went upon active service, there appears to have been a body of mercenaries employed by the town. In the *Burgh Records* several references to "the colonel" appear, and on 22nd June the city treasurer was reimbursed the sum of £518 13s. given by him "to the colonel for payment of the sojoris of fortoun" during the five months past. There are orders given for "stenting" or taxing the citizens to raise the sum required by the authorities in Edinburgh. On 16th July a second company is sent to the Border as a reinforcement for "Capitane Porterfield." Two days

⁸ *Burgh Records*, i. 411, 412.

⁹ *Ibid.* 412-413.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* i. 411.

¹ *Ibid.* 414.

later, a troop of thirteen horsemen are fitted out and provided with a month's pay. And on 16th August there are further measures taken for collecting the silver plate and gold of the citizens, as well as voluntary contributions and loans of money "for the commoun cause."² The list of those who thus lent money is headed by Thomas Hutcheson of Lambhill with three thousand merks.³ For the silver work and money then raised and conveyed to Edinburgh by the provost Glasgow got two "actis" signed by lords of the Committee of Estates.⁴ The town also spent £239 12s. on eight score pairs of shoes sent to its company on active service. For the clothes for its soldiers it received a warrant from the Committee to take the cost out of the rents of the bishop and non-Covenanters.⁵

As in wars in more recent times the town's soldiers on active service were provided with comforts by their relatives and friends at home. As some had no friends to do this for them, and, finding themselves "miskennit or neglectit," might be inclined to grudge and so prove less reliable, the magistrates on 12th December sent £108 to be distributed among them.

It will be seen from these details that Glasgow was put to large expense and very great trouble by the effort to secure the form of public worship which the nation desired. That the expense and trouble were undertaken willingly is shown by the fact that no record exists of any resistance or refusal to co-operate among the citizens, and by the promptitude and energy with which the arrangements were carried out.

In England the Scottish army, after capturing Newcastle and occupying Durham, had taken position along the line of the river Tees, which divides Durham county from Yorkshire, and on 4th September sent a humble supplication to the king, who was then at York, asking him to redress the Scottish grievances.⁶ The request was made more urgent by the fact

² *Burgh Records*, i. 415-416.

³ *Ibid.* i. 419.

⁴ *Ibid.* 421.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 424.

⁶ Gardiner, ix. p. 201.

that the invading army was levying its support from the counties of Northumberland and Durham at the rate of £850 per day. It was further backed up by the news of the successive surrender to the Covenanters of the castles of Dunbarton, Edinburgh, and Caerlaverock.⁷ Under these circumstances the king called a "great council" of the English peers to meet at York, and from that council sixteen commissioners were sent to treat with commissioners of the Scots at Ripon.⁸ The eight Scottish commissioners on 21st October agreed to an armistice on condition of a payment of £25,000 for the support of their army, and further discussion of the matters in dispute was transferred to London,⁹ where large audiences attended the preaching of the Scottish ministers.¹⁰

Harassed by the Scottish demands and the difficulty of raising money in England, Charles was forced to call a Parliament, and the historic assembly afterwards known as the Long Parliament met at Westminster on 3rd November. That Parliament voted £140,000 for the maintenance of the Scottish and English armies in the north, and instead of providing the supplies desired by the king for the prosecution of his own schemes of compulsion, took up consideration of English grievances, and impeached the king's ministers, the Earl of Strafford, Archbishop Laud, and the Lord Keeper Finch.¹ On 11th May, 1641, Strafford was executed on Tower Hill.

By the treaty with the Scots, which was concluded on 7th August, the king was to ratify the Acts of the Scottish Parliament which had sat in 1640 without his authority, while the authors of the late troubles in both countries were to be punished. At the same time England agreed to pay the Scots an indemnity of three hundred thousand pounds. The Cove-

⁷ *Ibid.* 207.

⁸ Burton, vi. 309.

⁹ Gardiner, ix. 209-214.

¹⁰ Clarendon, i. 190, ed. 1843, p. 76.

¹ Gardiner, ix. 235-236, 249.

nanters, having thus secured the objects for which they had taken up arms, disbanded their army.²

While these events were taking place in England, the Covenanters were using stern measures to stamp out the remains of episcopacy in the north. General Munro, another old soldier of Gustavus Adolphus, with a thousand scalliwag followers, "daily deboshing, drinking, night-walking, and bringing sundry honest women servants to great misery," plundered the "malignants" of Aberdeen and the district, using such excruciating tortures as that of the wooden horse to enforce his exactions.³ At the same time, Argyll, securing a "commission of fire and sword," and raising a Highland army of four thousand men, swept the central Highlands and the Braes of Angus, and destroyed the lands and houses of the Covenanters' enemies and his own. It was during this campaign that the future head of the Covenanting party destroyed the Bonnie House of Airlie, as commemorated in the well-known ballad, showing his zeal by himself taking hammer in hand and defacing the carved work of lintels and doorways "till he did sweat."⁴

These were the circumstances in Scotland when King Charles, harassed and driven to desperation by the proceedings of the English Parliament at Westminster, bethought himself of escaping for a time to the north. In the Scottish Parliament which he attended, however, his chagrin was probably not less. The Estates no longer met in the dingy old tolbooth of Edinburgh, but in the hall of the handsome building still known as the Parliament House, and in that hall, now the foyer of the supreme Law Courts of Scotland, Charles had to listen and give assent to Act after Act passed in his name, which must have torn his heart with every sentence. He also found it necessary to confer honours on those who had been his most active enemies. General Leslie was created Earl of Leven, and Argyll

² *Act. Parl.* v. 337 *et seq.*

³ *Spalding's Memorials*, i. 275, 352.

⁴ *Spalding*, i. 291.

was made a Marquess. At the same time he accomplished one thing which was to have the effect four years later of very nearly turning the tide of fortune in his favour. He secured the adherence of the gallant young Earl of Montrose. That chief of the Grahams, then twenty-eight years of age, had probably begun to weary of the intolerance of the Covenanters, and perhaps may have felt some chagrin at the superseding of himself in command of the army by his former chief of staff, General Leslie. There may also have been an increasing antagonism to Argyll, then coming to a foremost place in the counsels of the Covenanting party, and fated to be his bitterest enemy to the end. Lastly he had come into personal touch with Charles, and had seen reason to support his cause. The change over of Montrose was in no way different from that of the men in the English Parliament of the same time, who, after voting for the abolition of the Star Chamber and the impeachment of Strafford, became foremost among the Cavaliers.⁵

The Scottish Parliament ended its sittings on 7th November, 1641, having effected many great changes in the affairs and government of Scotland, and Charles hastened south to the second session of the Long Parliament, which had opened in October. The people of the northern kingdom had been pacified by the king's concessions, and in the south, notwithstanding fearful news of a Catholic rising and massacre of Protestants in Ireland, matters were in a fair way of settling into an ordered system. The two great parties of Cavaliers and Roundheads were nearly equal, and it looked as if the king's party were in the way of securing a majority, when Charles made the crucial unpardonable mistake of his life. He sent the Attorney-General to impeach Pym, Hampden, and other leaders of the Roundhead party of high treason at the bar of the House of Lords, and he went in person with an armed force to arrest the leaders of that party within the House of Commons itself.

⁵ Macaulay, vol. i. chap. i.

These acts of high-handed folly and treachery threw the whole country at once into an uproar. During the night London rose in arms ; the gates of the king's palace were besieged by angry multitudes, and presently Charles was forced to leave his capital, never to return till the day of a terrible reckoning arrived, when he came to be tried for his life and to lay his head on the block outside the window of his palace of Whitehall. The signal had been given for the beginning of that devastating and long drawn-out conflict, the Civil War.

CHAPTER XXII

DOMESTIC ANNALS ABOUT 1640

WHILE Glasgow was thus playing a decided and vigorous part in the larger affairs of the nation, it was also attending to its own internal affairs with efficiency and credit. The municipal records afford a picture of orderly and wise arrangement, with no disturbance of steady progress and painstaking forethought.

Among many similar matters the annals of Glasgow throw valuable light on the methods of government, local and national, of early times. It is a common mistake to suppose that in the dawn of history—an imagined golden age—communities elected their rulers by a free vote of all their members, in the democratic fashion of to-day. The facts of history show that this was not the case. The Anglo-Saxon Witan,¹ the British or Welsh Cantref,² the high council of the Picts,³ and the governing bodies of the Irish Gael⁴ and the Gauls across the Channel⁵ were all alike selected rather than elected assemblies, in the choice of whom the common people had no part. It is interesting to find to what a late period this system prevailed in Scotland. Even in the seventeenth century the Assembly of the Scottish Estates, or Parliament, remained, like the high councils of the Picts, Britons, Gael, and Saxons, a body composed of nobles, landowners, clergy, and representa-

¹ Liebermann, *National Assembly*, 5. ² Lloyd, *History of Wales*, i. 301-2.

³ Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, ii. 36.

⁴ Fustel de Coulange's *Histoire*, i. 1-22.

⁵ Caesar.

tives of burghs, no one of whom was elected by the people. The representative of Glasgow was appointed by the Town Council, and the appointment was in each case only for the duration of a single meeting of the Estates. Thus on 14th October, 1637, the Council "ordaines" Walter Stirling to ride to Edinburgh with "Maister Robert Wilkie" for the next meeting of Parliament "to attend ane gracious ansuer of his Majestie anent the buik of commoun prayer"; and a month later the city fathers similarly "ordained" Matthew Hamilton to accompany Wilkie for the same purpose.⁶

But the magistrates and Council of Glasgow were not themselves elected by the people. Down to the year 1637 the provost and magistrates were appointed by the archbishop. After the abolition of Episcopacy they were selected by a commissioner appointed by the king.⁷ There appears, however, to have been no settled or regular arrangement for the election of the Town Council. That body, still a close corporation, was chosen, not by the citizens in general, but by the provost and old and new bailies, with perhaps the most influential members of the previous Council itself.⁸ On 19th August of that year, however, the provost, bailies, and Council took the matter in hand. They formally resolved that in future the members of the Town Council should be chosen, not in any haphazard fashion, but by the provost and three bailies, along with the provost and three bailies of each of the previous two years, a body of twelve in all, which, in case of the death or absence otherwise of any of them, should make up that number by co-opting other individuals for the purpose.⁹ Accordingly, in the October following, the archbishop having appointed James Stewart of Floack, a merchant burghess, to be provost, and John

⁶ *Burgh Records*, i. 385.

⁷ *Ibid.* 432.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, i. 375. It was by an Act of James III. in the 15th century that retiring town councils elected their successors. This usage was only abolished by the Burgh Police Act of 1833.

⁹ *Ibid.* i. 382.

Anderson and Ninian Anderson, merchants, and Colin Campbell, craftsman (founder of the Blythwood family), to be bailies, the provost and bailies of that and the two previous years, with one person chosen to make up the number of twelve, elected thirteen merchants and twelve craftsmen to act as the council of the burgh.¹⁰

Three years later, in 1640, occurred the first instance of the appointment of a town clerk depute. The occasion was the illness of the town clerk, John Hutcheson of Scotstoun. The individual appointed was William Nair, notary, and "servitor to the said John," and he was granted full powers to act during Hutcheson's illness. His deputeship, however, was short. Eleven days later, Hutcheson having died, he was himself appointed town clerk.¹

As the educational authority of its day, the Town Council took a creditable interest in the teaching of more than "the three R's." From time immemorial, by reason, no doubt, of the example and teaching of the vicars choral, who carried on the services of praise in the Cathedral, Glasgow had been a musical place. An instance of the real concern felt regarding this matter appears in the Town Council records of 1638. One James Sanders had previously been granted a monopoly of music teaching in the city, but in course of time, probably through his years or infirmity, the music school under his charge had been allowed to decay. This the Council regarded as "a great discredit to the city," and a cause of discontent to sundry honest men who had children they wished to be instructed in the art. Accordingly, Sanders was summoned before the city fathers, and with his consent the licence was transferred to Duncan Burnett, a former teacher of music in the town.²

Ordinary education was also not less highly esteemed or well provided for in the city. In order that the work should be in respectable hands and properly controlled, the Town Council ordained that there should be no more than four English

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, i. 384.

¹ *Ibid.* i. 417.

² *Ibid.* i. 388.

schools and one writing school in the burgh, the masters of them being licensed and kept under strict surveillance by the magistrates themselves.³

Still another evidence of the enlightenment of the rulers of the city is to be found in the encouragement which they gave to the establishment of printing in their midst. This was one of the instances in which something of the nature of a subsidy was granted by the town in order to secure the establishment of an industry. Encouraged by such goodwill, George Anderson had been induced to set up his printing press in the city, and the Council honourably stood by him in his enterprise. In January, 1640, it paid him a hundred pounds as the balance of cost of transporting his gear to the burgh, ten dollars having been given him previously towards the expenses.⁴

It is interesting to discover that within twenty years of this enlightened proceeding the Town Council actually did something in the way of providing Glasgow with a newspaper. In September, 1657, James Fleming was directed to write his representative in London to send a journal weekly to Glasgow for the town's use. Glasgow was thus the first community to provide itself with a municipal newspaper.

These efforts to start and encourage industries did not always meet with the approval of the citizens, and a considerable amount of tact had to be used by the city fathers to secure the smooth working of the policy. In 1638 a merchant, Robert Fleming, and certain partners approached the Town Council with an offer to set up a "house of manufactory," by means of which a number of the poorer people would be provided with employment. The advantages which must accrue to the burgh from such an undertaking were at once perceived by the Council, and for encouragement it was unanimously agreed to grant Fleming and his partners, free of charge for fifteen years, the town's great lodging and yard in the Drygate,

³ *Burgh Records*, i. 397.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 407.

as well as a shop under the Tolbooth. The Council even undertook to maintain the roof of the great lodging during the period, free of all charge to the tenants.⁵ The agreement, however, at once excited the fears of the Incorporation of Weavers, which appears to have complained to the Town Council. An arrangement was therefore made with the partners of the factory, and it was "enacted and ordained" that during the time of the lease no webs should be woven there by the servants of townsfolk, but that weaving should only be done on the premises by the freemen of the Incorporation.⁶

To the same period belonged the beginning of a new method of dealing with the poor. Down till the end of 1638 the derelicts of the community appear to have sustained themselves by common begging in the streets. On the occasion of the great General Assembly of that year in the Cathedral, however, an order was made forbidding the poor to appear in the streets, and making provision for their maintenance in their own houses. This was found to be so great an improvement that the Town Council resolved to continue the practice, and for the purpose to institute a special stent or levy upon the inhabitants.⁷ This was, as a matter of fact, the origin of the modern poor-rate in Glasgow. The levy, to begin with, added a fifth to the amount of the stent or assessment then being raised for municipal purposes,⁸ and as the first sum allocated for the purpose was £600, the city rates previous to the imposition of this addition may be taken to have amounted to the modest sum of £3000 Scots, or about £150 sterling per annum. Intimation of the levy was made by tuck of drum, and the penalty for non-payment was the exaction of double the amount, and the publication of the names of defaulters in the churches.⁹

⁵ *Burgh Records*, i. 385.

⁶ *Ibid.* i. 388.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 395.

⁸ *Ibid.* i. 396.

⁹ *Ibid.* i. 397, 406.

Another great improvement followed the arrangements made for the credit of the burgh at the time of the epoch-making General Assembly. On that occasion it had been ordained that the streets should be cleared and kept clear of middens and filth. The order was evidently given effect, and the Town Council, having discovered how comely and decent and creditable to the city it was to have the streets thus kept in order, immediately passed a regulation permanently forbidding the deposit of middens on the thoroughfare.¹⁰

Still another nuisance that was then done away with must have contributed not a little to the amenities of the burgh and to improve the health of the people. A practice had evidently grown up among the butchers or tanners of the town of steeping limed hides in holes and pools of the Molendinar. This was no doubt an easy method of getting rid of certain deleterious properties preparatory to the curing of the hides, but it must have destroyed completely the beauty and healthful properties of the stream. Accordingly, in 1641 the Town Council gave the Dean of Guild and the Deacon Convener warrant to have the practice done away with, and the Molendinar cleared of all such holes.¹ Whether or not this order was entirely effective, it is a curious fact that down to the twentieth century workmen were to be seen in a tanners' yard in the heart of the city scutching wet hides into the flowing Molendinar where it appeared from underground for a space beside a main thoroughfare.

At the same time, in keeping with its origin and early history, the city never ceased to display a proper solicitude for the maintenance of religious ordinances. The burgh records contain frequent entries of sums voted to be paid to the city ministers and others for their services. In consequence of the trouble with Charles I. the Town Council had a very difficult situation to deal with. A commission appointed by the king reported that the archbishop during his residence had acted as

¹⁰ *Burgh Records* i. 396.

¹ *Ibid.* i. 426.

ordinary minister of the Cathedral, and recommended that the burgh should appoint a minister to the charge at £1000 a year.² At the same period, in 1639 and 1640, other vacancies occurred in the pulpits of the city churches, and the Town Council again and again deputed certain of its members to treat with ministers elsewhere with a view to filling the charges. Two members were sent to Kilwinning in November, 1639, to "requyre Maister Robert Bailyie to cum heir conforme to the ordinance of the last provincially assemblie." In September, 1640, an agreement was made with another minister, Robert Ramsay, after some bargaining, to take up the duties, the consideration payable to him being £800 of yearly stipend, with house rent and two marts or bullocks, of which remuneration 175 merks were to be paid immediately after his first sermon "for causis knawin to the town." A month later the Council elected Hugh Blair to be minister of the High Kirk, and arranged that he should be interviewed as to whether he would "abyde the hezard of the stipend belanging thairto." Apparently Hew Blair declined the hazard, for the Council presently arranged with Maister James Howstoun to preach once on the Sunday and once on a week day during the Council's pleasure. A number of payments were made to other ministers for their services in the vacant pulpits, including ten dollars to a blind minister, Mr. John Campbell, for his preaching, and "out of charitie to supplie his necessitie." At last, in 1641, the Council appointed Mr. Edward Wright, minister of Clackmannan, to the vacant charge, and arranged that he should preach in the New Kirk in the forenoon and in the High Kirk in the afternoon, no minister being appointed to the New Kirk till it should be found that Mr. Wright was assured of his stipend.³ The whole transaction throws light on the practical and legal difficulties which arose out of the act of the General Assembly abolishing Episcopacy,

² *Inventure of Wrytes and Evidents* (1696).

³ *Burgh Records*, i. 406, 420, 425, 428.

passed without the legalising presence of the Lord High Commissioner and without the Royal assent.

Another difficulty, apparently more easily overcome, arising from this act, was the collection and disposal of certain of the archbishop's revenues which had been payable in kind. Certain teind sheaves were payable to the archbishop from the lands immediately about the burgh. As harvest drew near in 1640 the Town Council bethought them of the need for finding a place in which to store these, and they instructed their clerk to secure two barns for the purpose. Four weeks later, however, and before the harvest was actually reaped, the city fathers hit upon a better plan, which saved them all the trouble of actually handling the grain. They sold the teind sheaves by auction in the Tolbooth. The minutes carefully set down the transaction as the "lawfull rousing of the samein," and the sum realized was "aught hundreth pundis," payable one half at Martinmas and the other at Candlemas following.⁴

Among still further difficulties with which the city fathers had to contend were those caused by the fact that England and Scotland were ruled by separate Governments. An instance occurred in 1640. A certain Michael Wilson in Eastbourne, Sussex, had bequeathed the sum of £500 sterling, otherwise 9000 merks Scots, to the Provost of Glasgow and the Principal of Glasgow University for the repair of the College and the foundation of bursaries. As Wilson was a stranger in England, and not denisoned or naturalized there, someone at Court had secured a gift of his goods, gear, money, and lands, and it looked as if Glasgow were to lose the benefit of the legacy. The town, however, secured the interest of the Earl of Stirling, then Secretary of State for Scotland, and by his personal efforts at Court the king was induced to have a bond drawn out by which the £500 was made payable out of Wilson's estate. This bond was in the keeping of the Principal, Robert

⁴ *Burgh Records*, i. 416, 419.

Boyd of Trochrig, at the College in Glasgow, when his apartment was burgled, and the bond and other valuables carried off. News of this occurrence having reached the granter of the bond (one wonders whether the burglary had not been instigated by that individual), he refused to pay the money. The authorities in Glasgow had now to secure another friend at Court in the person of Sir James Carmichael of that ilk, to represent the matter again to the king. The case was desperate when at last a new bond was secured, not only for the original 9000 merks, but for an additional thousand in name of annual rent or interest for the years during which the payment had been held back. The money, having been at length obtained, was lent out, after the fashion of that time, to the Earl of Mar and to the Earl of Galloway and his son, Lord Garlies, with certain cautioners, while the interest was applied to the founding of four bursaries, preferably for Michael Wilson's kindred, one to be nominated by the Earl of Stirling and his heirs, one by Sir James Carmichael and his heirs, and two by the Provost of Glasgow, with advice and consent of the bailies and Council. The arrangement was ratified by the exchange of minutes between the University and the Town Council.⁵

Altogether, by the year 1640, quickened by the action of the General Assembly of 1638 in its midst, and by the conflict with the king, Glasgow was quite evidently a progressive and business-like place, though the death-bell was still rung solemnly before the dead by an appointed officer as the townsmen were borne to their long home in the Cathedral kirkyard.⁶ The city fathers had every reason to be proud of their burgh when they authorised the treasurer to pay five dollars to James Colquhoun "for drawing of the portrait of the toune to be sent to Holland,"⁷ no doubt for inclusion in Blaeu's *Atlas Major*, which was then in preparation, or the famous collection of views of towns by the same publisher.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, i. 408.

⁶ *Ibid.* i. 424.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 430.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CAMPAIGN OF MONTROSE

WHILE King Charles was at Holyrood for the meetings of the Scottish Parliament in the autumn of 1641 there was much feverish coming and going of commissioners from Glasgow. On 6th September the king granted to James, Duke of Lennox and Richmond, the whole temporalities of the archbishopric of Glasgow, lands and barony, castle, city, burgh, and regality, with the right to nominate the provost, bailies, and other officers, and incorporated the whole into a temporal lordship of Glasgow, for an annual payment of two hundred merks Scots (£11 2s. 2½d.).¹ Glasgow thus saw its hopes of freedom from feudal authority in the appointment of its provost and bailies once more overthrown. Strong representations were accordingly made at Court; presents of Holland and Scottish linen cloth were made to "Maister Web the Duikis servand,"² and at length it was arranged that while the duke should have the power to nominate the provost out of a leet of three persons submitted to him, it was left to the Town Council itself to elect the provost, if the Duke or his commissioner were not present at the time.³

Upon similar representations from the city the king assigned to the Town Council the teinds, parsonage, and vicarage revenues of the archbishopric and of the kirks of Drymen,

¹ *Reg. Priv. Seal*, cix. 294; *Glasgow Charters and Doc.* pt. ii. p. 403.

² *Burgh Records*, i. 434.

³ *Act. Parl.* v. 412; *Burgh Records*, i. 433, 434; ii. 48, 49.

Dryfesdale, Cambusnethan, and Traquair, for the support of a minister in place of the archbishop, for the repair of the Cathedral, and for the maintenance of schools and hospitals.⁴

By another charter Charles conveyed to Glasgow University the lands of the bishopric of Candida Casa and its dependencies, the priory of Whithorn, the abbeys of Tongland and Glenluce, and others.⁵

It must have made sore the heart of the king thus to sign away with his own hand the revenues supporting that Episcopal system which his father and he had spent half a century in building up.

Another and more terrible anxiety, however, was even then descending upon Charles. News reached him at Holyrood of the outbreak in Ireland of the great rebellion under Sir Phelim O'Neil, in which the wild Catholics marched across the country, butchering and burning in such horrible fashion as cast the Sicilian Vespers and the Eve of St. Bartholomew into the shade. The event was made more ominous and alarming by the fact that the Irish leader produced a commission purporting to have been sent by Charles and sealed with the Great Seal of Scotland. Hill Burton shows that on 1st October, 1641, this seal was in doubtful hands, in transference between the Marquess of Hamilton and the new Chancellor, Lord Loudon, and it is still one of the problems of history whether the document that had such terrible consequences was genuine or forged.⁶

The king reported the outbreak to the Scottish Parliament, which promptly offered to send a force of ten thousand men to help the Protestants in Ireland. Accordingly, on 8th December, Argyll, who had now been made a Marquess, appeared before the Town Council of Glasgow with a commission from the Privy Council requiring transport for five thousand men.

⁴ *Act. Parl.* v. 581; *Glasgow Charters*, ii. 415.

⁵ *Great Seal Reg.* 1633-1651, p. 374.

⁶ Hill Burton, vi. 341-348.

The Town Council made its bargain with business-like promptitude, undertaking to convey the force for thirty shillings passage money and six shillings per day for meals for each man. Glasgow further undertook to have the necessary boats in readiness at forty-eight hours' notice, and stipulated that each boat should have half payment before starting and the other half on arriving in Ireland.⁷ In the matters of business-like arrangement and forethought the transaction could not be bettered at the present day. In the end only some four thousand men were sent from Scotland under General Leslie, who had been created Earl of Leven.⁸ Three years later, on 27th February, 1645, the proportion of this force to be maintained by Glasgow was fixed at 110 men, with monthly pay amounting to £990 Scots (£82 10s. sterling).⁹

This Irish rebellion was reflected in more than one other way in the affairs of Glasgow. Almost at once it brought across the Irish Sea a stream of refugees fleeing from the terrors in their own country, and apparently for the greater part destitute. In February, 1642, the Town Council ordered two hundred merks to be distributed among them. In March a charitable collection was ordered to be taken in the town, and in October it was reported that £1099 2s. 4d. Scots (£91 11s. 10d. sterling) had been contributed and disbursed among these poor people.

But there was also a later and greater reflex action on the affairs of Scotland and the city.

On 17th November, 1641, the Scottish Parliament ended its sittings, and on the 18th the king returned to London, to find himself immediately embroiled in disputes with the English Houses of Parliament sitting at Westminster. The events that followed have already been alluded to—the Grand Remonstrance addressed by the House of Commons to the king, the

⁷ *Burgh Records*, i. 435.

⁸ *Turner's Memoirs*, pp. 24-29.

⁹ *Act. Parl.* VI. i. p. 352.

impeachment of Pym, Hollis, Hampden, and other Opposition leaders by the king's order at the bar of the House of Lords, and the attempt by Charles in person, with an armed force, to seize certain members within the walls of the House of Commons itself. These high-handed and unconstitutional acts brought thousands of indignant yeomen spurring into London to defend the rights and liberties of their representatives, and before the clamour of the furious multitude that besieged his palace gates in Whitehall Charles was forced to leave London, never to return except as a prisoner on his way to trial and execution. On 28th August, 1642, the king's standard was raised at Nottingham, and the Civil War in England began in earnest.

At first the English Parliamentary Party steadily lost ground in the conflict. Both sides were unused to war, but while the Parliamentary ranks were filled with hirelings, "a mere rabble of tapsters and serving men out of place" as Cromwell called them, the Royalists were mostly well-mounted gentlemen with their younger brothers, grooms, gamekeepers, and huntsmen, all well used to firearms and field exercises, with high spirits, courage, and daring. Newcastle, from which London derived its supply of coal, had been occupied for the king by the Earl of Newcastle; Bristol, the second city in England, had been surrendered by its commander, Nathaniel Fiennes, and the arms of Charles were victorious throughout the western and northern counties. The leaders at Westminster began to see before them the dreadful spectres of defeat and death on the scaffold. In the emergency they cast their eyes on Scotland, and made a bold bid for the help of that well-organized and disciplined army under General Leslie, which they had lately seen invincible on their own soil. On 10th August, 1643, a commission of the English Parliament approached the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, claiming credit for following the example of Scotland in the

path of reform, and declaring for the abolition of Episcopacy. This compliment was followed by an even more overpowering one, the agreement to adopt a declaration drawn up by Henderson, based on the Scottish National Covenant of 1638. Thus the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 came into existence. Shorn of its references to Acts of the Scottish Parliament and of the General Assembly, this document was little more than a protest against Popery, an undertaking to preserve "the reformed religion of the Church of Scotland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government," and a promise to carry out "the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland . . . according to the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed Churches."¹⁰ Intoxicated by this tribute to their superior sanctity and sagacity, both Parliament and Assembly in Scotland adopted the Solemn League and Covenant with rapture as a declaration for the establishment of Presbyterianism in England, which it was not,¹ and passed acts for its compulsory signature in all the parishes of the kingdom.²

Further, the Scottish Parliament, meeting on its own initiative on 22nd June, 1643, proceeded to raise an army of 21,000 men, and sent it across the Border under the command of Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, with his nephew, David Leslie, as major-general. With this force a considerable contingent, including two surgeons, went from Glasgow.³

On 19th January, 1644, the Scots army crossed the Tweed on the ice. On the 28th, in a blinding snowstorm, it crossed the Tyne, drove back a Royalist force fourteen thousand strong, under Sir Charles Lucas, and besieged Newcastle. While the siege was going on Leslie marched to York, and, joining up with the English Parliamentary army under Fairfax, fought and won the first victory of the Parliament, against Prince

¹⁰ Hill Burton, vi. 353-355; Peterkin's *Records*, 294, 329, 347, 362.

¹ Gardiner's *Civil War*, i. 19.

² Cunningham, ii. 45.

³ *Burgh Records*, ii. 66-70; *Act. Parl.* VI. i. p. 89.

Rupert, at Long Marston Moor.⁴ On 19th October Newcastle was stormed by the Scots, and London's coal supply set free just in time for the beginning of winter.⁵

This vital change in the fortunes of the Parliamentary Party in England was obviously owed to the help of the hardy, experienced, and well-disciplined army of the Scots. If that army could be induced to withdraw again to Scotland it seemed likely that the tide could be made to turn again in favour of the king. In the crisis the meteoric and heroic figure of Montrose again appeared upon the scene.

Queen Henrietta, who had been endeavouring, without much success, to secure help in Holland for the Royalist cause, returned in February, 1643. On her landing at Bridlington Quay she was met by the Earl of Montrose, who, it is believed, put before her the plan for a Royalist campaign in Scotland.⁶ Afterwards, at Oxford, where she joined the king in July, he had further interviews with the queen. Had the plan been put into action at once it seems possible that the Earl of Leven's army might never have crossed the Tweed, and the later history of the kingdoms might have run in a different channel. But it was always the fortune of Charles I. to do the right thing when it was too late. In this case, at the instance of Hamilton, just then made a duke, Montrose's project was delayed for a year.⁷ It was not till the Scottish army were besieging Newcastle that the king turned to Montrose. On 1st February, 1644, the latter received a commission as lieutenant-general, and set out for Scotland. With only a small following he crossed the Border and drove the Covenanters out of Dumfries; but he was in turn driven out of that place by the Covenanters of

⁴ Burton, vi. 361.

⁵ *Ibid.* vi. 360; Echard, iii. 482.

⁶ Napier's *Montrose*, p. 228. The young Earl of Montrose, some of whose exploits have been already mentioned, must have been well known in the streets of Glasgow, for his chief seat, Mugdock Castle, was only some five miles north-west of the city.

⁷ Napier, p. 229.

Teviotdale, and, falling back on Carlisle, captured Morpeth Castle, stormed a fort near the mouth of the Tyne, and threw supplies into Newcastle. Receiving an urgent message from Prince Rupert, he hastened south with all the force he could gather, only to come up with that leader on the evening of 2nd July, the day on which he had been defeated by the armies of the Covenant and Parliament at Marston Moor.⁸

It was then that Montrose, who had now been created a marquess, put into execution the bold plan which has made him for all time a hero of romance. Disguised as a groom in attendance on Sir William Rollo and Colonel Sibbald, who themselves wore the dress of troopers of the Earl of Leven, he passed without detection through the Covenanting Lowlands to Tullibeltane in the highlands of Perthshire, where he was met by his kinsman, Graham of Inchbrakie. His idea was to raise the clans, and, with the help of a force from Ireland, to make Scotland so unsafe for the Covenant that the Earl of Leven's army must be recalled from the south. If this took place it seemed likely that the Royalist forces under Prince Rupert would again be able to gain the upper hand. Accordingly from Tullibeltane, the spot from which in an early age the sacred Baal fires were scattered over the country on Beltane Day, Montrose sent his fiery cross through the glens, and in an astonishingly short space of time found himself at the head of three thousand men. Without losing time he marched on Perth, and meeting, four miles west of that town, a force more than double the number of his own, commanded by Lord Elcho, won at a rush the battle of Tippermuir—a Royalist victory which, with the possession of Perth which it secured, did much to encourage the cause of Charles in the south. The date was Sunday, 1st September, 1644.⁹

Another Covenanting army, 2500 strong, under Lord

⁸ Napier, 249-256; Rushworth, v. 482.

⁹ Spalding, ii. 403; *Memorabilia of Perth*, p. 107.

Balfour of Burleigh, lay at Aberdeen, and Montrose next turned his attention to it. With fifteen hundred men on 13th September, he crossed the Dee ten miles above the town, and, in a battle between the Crabstane and the Justice Mills, overthrew the Covenanting force, and pursued it into the city with merciless slaughter.¹⁰

There was still a third Covenanting army in Scotland, consisting of three thousand Campbells, two regiments from the army in England, and a strong force of cavalry, under the Marquess of Argyll. As most of his Highlanders had gone home with their plunder, Montrose avoided this force, and kept moving from place to place, till at the approach of winter Argyll disbanded his clansmen and retired to his stronghold at Inveraray. Then the Royalist general descended through the glens, and during the months of December and January laid waste the country of the unhappy Campbells.¹

As he retired northward through the Great Glen Montrose learned that his way ahead was barred by Seaforth with 5000 men, and that Argyll had mustered 3000 behind him. His own force numbered only 1500 men, and it looked as if he were trapped. But he turned and, marching rapidly through deep snow, surprised Argyll at Inverlochy in Lochaber, on the shore of Loch Linnhe. The Campbell chief took to his galley off the land, and on Candlemas Day, 1645, watched his army being cut to pieces with the loss of 1500 men.²

Montrose then marched to attack Seaforth, but that leader retired, and at Elgin came into the Royalist headquarters for pardon.

The Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh was now thoroughly alarmed, and, with Argyll as its moving spirit, proceeded to organise further efforts against Montrose. On 11th February it passed sentence of death and forfeiture against him,³ and

¹⁰ Spalding, ii. 407.

¹ Spalding, ii. 442; Napier, 290.

² Napier, 293.

³ Balfour, iii. 270.

on the 27th it passed an act requiring each county and burgh to raise a certain number of soldiers proportioned to its population, and maintain them at the rate of nine pounds Scots per man per month.⁴

Glasgow had already contributed considerably to the carrying on of the war. In 1641 a Glasgow ship, "The Merrie Katherine," had been sunk in the Clyde to prevent the king's ships from victualling Dunbarton Castle, and a new ship, "The Antelope," built by the same five merchant owners, had made only one voyage to Bordeaux when she was employed by Parliament to intercept the expected Irish invaders on the west coast, and was wrecked in the entry to Lochaber. In compensation the owners were ordered to retain a ship worth £340 sterling, given them by the Marquess of Argyll, and to be paid £100 sterling in cash.⁵ Further, in December, 1643, the city again raised a company, and sent it under Captain Porterfield with the Earl of Leven's army into England.⁶

Glasgow also, by order of Parliament, maintained on the west coast a vessel, "The Eight Whelpe," employed by Argyll against the Irish force brought over by Alastair Macdonald (Colkitto) to help Montrose.⁷ And at Argyll's request it supplied a hundred bolls of meal for the provisioning of his forces.⁸

Sums were also spent in entertaining Lord Sinclair's regiment quartered in the town, and the troopers who came into Glasgow with Argyll on 17th February after the battle of Inverlochy.⁹ The city at that time was ready to defend itself, for on 31st August, the day before the battle of Tippermuir,

⁴ *Act. Parl.* VI. i. 351. Glasgow's levy was 110 men, and taking the proportion to be one man for every sixty of the population Dr. Robert Chambers estimated the population of Edinburgh at 34,440, Glasgow and Perth each 6600, Stirling and Haddington each 2160, Ayr 2460, Dundee 11,160, Inverness 2400, St. Andrews 3600, Dumfries 2640, Montrose 3180 (*Domestic Annals*, ii. 162).

⁵ *Act. Parl.* VI. i. 379.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, ii. 64, 68.

⁷ *Act. Parl.* 1644, c. 139, pp. 139, 159; *Burgh Records*, ii. 73-76.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, ii. 73.

⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 69, 76.



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every citizen between sixteen and sixty years of age had received orders to be in readiness, with his best arms, powder, match, lead, and twenty days' provisions, to come out under appointed captains; and guards were kept at all the ports.¹⁰ For another reason, also—the outbreak of “war typhus” or plague, in the armies in the south—the inhabitants had been ordered to build up their backyards and closes to prevent strangers coming in by these entries.¹

It was perhaps these active preparations which saved Glasgow from the fate of sack and massacre which overtook Aberdeen and Dundee at the hands of Montrose. Descending through the central Highlands, the Royalist leader stormed the Tayside town on 3rd April, 1645. The Irish and Highlanders were in the act of plundering that stronghold of the Covenant when word arrived that Generals Baillie and Hurry, with a strong force consisting mostly of disciplined troops from the Scots army in England, were almost at the gates. With incredible efforts Montrose got his scattered plunderers together—his whole force numbered only some 800 horse and foot—and made a dexterous retreat to the Grampians.² On 9th May he was lying at the village of Auldearn, between Forres and Nairn, when General Hurry made a night march to surprise him. But Montrose arranged his small number of men among the village enclosures so as to make it appear that he held the place in strength, and inflicted a severe defeat on his enemy.³

The Royalist general then appeared to be making for the Lowlands, and Baillie hastened to intercept him. On 2nd July Montrose occupied a strong position at Alford on the Don, and on seeing this Baillie would have retired. But the Covenanters had now adopted the plan of sending a committee with their forces to the field. This committee insisted on an immediate attack, and Baillie, under this pressure, crossed the

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, ii. 72, 73.

¹ *Ibid.* ii. 74, 75.

² Napier, 319 320.

³ Spalding, ii. 473.

river ; whereupon Montrose, swooping down upon him, cut his army to pieces.⁴

Meanwhile in England the Royalist cause had suffered some severe blows. At Naseby on 14th June the king had lost his infantry, his whole train of artillery, and no fewer than five hundred officers ; and a fortnight later Carlisle had surrendered to the Scottish army under the Earl of Leven. It was clear that, to afford real help to Charles, Montrose must strike a decisive blow further south. Accordingly, the fame of his victories having brought reinforcements from as far as Inverness-shire and Ross-shire, he left his headquarters at Dunkeld, crossed the Forth at the fords of Frew above Stirling, and traversing the Campsie Fells by Kippen and Fintry, on 14th August reached Kilsyth. He had 4000 foot and 500 horse, and the new Covenanting army under Baillie, which marched by Stirling and Dunipace to intercept him, had 6000 foot and 800 horse. Even then Baillie would have waited for reinforcements which were on the march to join him, but Argyll and the committee supervising their general's actions believed Montrose to be trying to evade them, and insisted on an attack. Baillie obeyed his orders, and the issue was almost immediately decided by the wild charge of the clans, which carried everything before it.⁵ It was said that not one unmounted Covenanter escaped unwounded ; Argyll fled by ship to Berwick, and the battle laid the whole of Scotland at the feet of Montrose.

The victorious general, with his wild Highlanders and Irish troops, was now within twelve miles of Glasgow, and the city had before it the fearful fate that had overtaken Aberdeen and Dundee. It was even said that Montrose had promised his troops the plunder of the city. With a view to conciliate him Sir Robert Douglas of Blackerston and Mr. Archibald Fleming, commissary, were sent to congratulate him on his victory

⁴ *Britane's Distemper*, 127-131 ; Napier, 341-343.

⁵ Baillie's *Letters*, ii. 420-423.

and to invite him and his army to spend some days in Glasgow. He accordingly marched thither, and encamped in the neighbourhood.⁶ He then sent a demand to the magistrates for a supply of bonnets, shoes, money, and other necessaries. The Council waited upon him to ask an abatement of his demand, when he not only granted their request, but detained them to dinner, and, on leaving, some of them were so overcome by their relief that they kissed his hand and wished him success.⁷ Montrose entered Glasgow on 16th August, and "was welcomed and entertained with great solemnity."⁸ But the Irish and wild Highlanders, seeing the wealth of the city, could not be restrained from plundering, and after executing some of the worst offenders without effect, and seeing there was plague in the place, he withdrew his army on the 18th to Bothwell.⁹

The city fathers have been accused of want of discretion in inviting and entertaining the Royalist general,¹⁰ and the provost, magistrates, and council were afterwards punished by deprivation of office and disqualification for election in future.¹ But it is certain that in no other way could they have prevented Glasgow from becoming a scene of wild rapine, plunder, and destruction. Moreover, from what followed it is clear that their canny complaisance, and the concessions it secured from Montrose, actually effected more for the cause of the Covenant than all the armies which had been put in the field against the brilliant Royalist general.

At Bothwell Montrose received addresses and declarations of loyalty from all parts of the country; the counties of Renfrew and Ayr offered allegiance, and Edinburgh and the south of Scotland acknowledged his authority. He thereupon sum-

⁶ Brown's *Hist. of Glasgow* (1795), p. 83.

⁷ Gibson's *Hist. of Glasgow* (1787), p. 94; Denholm's *Hist.* (1798), p. 20; (1804), p. 62.

⁸ Brown, p. 83.

⁹ Napier, 359.

¹⁰ Macgeorge, p. 215.

¹ *Burgh Records*, ii. 80-83.

moned a Parliament to meet at Glasgow in October, and in view of the expense which this would entail upon the city, agreed to forgo the sum of £500 which was the levy the Town Council had promised for distribution among the troops.

This last concession was the fuse which exploded the discontent of his followers. Denied the plunder of the rich city which they regarded as the rightful fruit of their victory at Kilsyth, the Highlanders broke up and went home, and the Royalist leader was left with a force of no more than 580 all told.² In these circumstances he marched towards the Border, expecting to receive reinforcements there from among the sons of the old moss-troopers, and afterwards to join forces with the king.³

Meanwhile, however, General David Leslie, with 4000 horse, had been detached from the Scots army in England, and, joined by 2000 foot from Newcastle, was marching northwards to meet him.⁴

On the evening of 12th September Montrose had encamped his infantry at Philiphaugh on the left bank of the Ettrick, while with his cavalry he himself quartered in the town of Selkirk on the hillside opposite. He had been writing a letter to the king far into the night, and was sitting down to breakfast, when the sound of firing was heard. Causing the alarm to be sounded, he leapt into the saddle, and, followed by his officers and some of his cavalry, galloped across the river, to find that Leslie's force, which had been encamped overnight at Melrose, only four miles away, had approached unseen in the morning mist, and had already routed his left wing. At the head of 150 horse Montrose himself charged twice, and drove back Leslie's squadron; but when a body of Covenanting troops, which had crossed the river above Selkirk, attacked his right

² Napier, 359; *Britane's Distemper*, 153, 164; Gardiner's *Civil War*, ii. 348.

³ Gardiner, ii. 350.

⁴ Gardiner's *Civil War*, ii. 309-354.

wing in the rear, he saw that the day was lost, and with about fifty horsemen he and a few friends, cutting their way through the enemy, galloped from the field.⁵

Then followed a horrible butchery by the Covenanters. The common prisoners, confined that night in Newark Castle, a little higher up the Ettrick, were shot next morning in cold blood. The captured Irish officers were hanged in Edinburgh without trial, and while a number of distinguished men were retained for execution at St. Andrews; three, Sir William Rollo, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Alexander Ogilvy of Inverquharity, a youth not eighteen years of age, were carried to Glasgow and beheaded on the 28th and 29th of October.⁶

Leslie sent half his force to Alloa to destroy the property of the Earl of Mar for his loyalty, while with the other half he accompanied the Committee of Parliament and the Commission of Assembly to Glasgow, where he exacted from the citizens a sum of £20,000 Scots, by way of interest, as he put it, on the 50,000 merks they were said to have lent Montrose.⁷

Meanwhile Montrose, who had raised 1200 foot and 300 horse in the north, returned to the neighbourhood of the city, and for nearly a month "daily threatening the town in the most daring manner," tried to draw Leslie out to battle. But at last, on 19th November, he returned to Atholl, and presently, on the second peremptory order from King Charles, disbanded his force and retired to Holland.

⁵ *Britane's Distemper*, 156-162; Gardiner, ii. 355.

⁶ *Britane's Distemper*, 167; Napier, 392; Balfour, iii. 358-363; *Burgh Records*, ii. 87.

⁷ Baillie's *Letters*, ii. 321; Brown's *Hist. of Glasgow*, 86; *Burgh Records*, ii. 79, 80, 117.

CHAPTER XXIV

GLASGOW UNDER THE COVENANT

By the policy which it had followed in making terms with the Marquess of Montrose Glasgow incurred the enmity of the Presbyterian clergy, and was made to suffer in a variety of ways. Not only was the regular election of provost, magistrates, and council interfered with, nominees of the Covenanting party being thrust into office against the persons duly chosen, to the serious dislocation of the city's affairs and derogation of its dignity.¹ And not only was the heavy payment of £20,000 Scots demanded, as already mentioned, by General Leslie and enforced by Parliament, the amount having to be borrowed from private lenders by the magistrates for the purpose;² but the citizens were made to dig a great trench round the town through their lands and yards,³ a work in which all the inhabitants were ordered to take part at their own expense, on pain of being considered disaffected and punished accordingly.⁴ A great garrison was also billeted on the town, 800 foot and a troop of dragoons, with magazines and victuals, ammunition, and arms,⁵ the provost, George Porterfield, being required to provide for their maintenance as much at a time as 2000 bolls of meal and large sums of money.⁶ In December, 1646, the city petitioned to be relieved of the garrison and its

¹ *Burgh Records*, ii. 82, 83.

² *Ibid.* ii. 79, 80.

³ Baillie's *Letters*, ii. 89.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, ii. 93.

⁵ *Act. Parl.* VI. i. 490.

⁶ *Act. Parl.* VI. i. 594, 655; *Burgh Records*, ii. 97, 110.

maintenance, and Parliament appointed a committee to consider the matter.⁷ But shortly afterwards Parliament ordered the city to pay 3000 merks, the balance of a sum of 10,000 which had been ordered to be paid to the officers of General Baillie's and the Earl of Cassillis's regiments, and also to provide quarters for the baggage horses of these regiments then quartered in the town. For this the Town Council had to borrow the 3000 merks on bond.⁸ Besides these burdens, Glasgow had to pay its share, £1530, of the month's pay of the army which overthrew Montrose at Philiphaugh.⁹

The magistrates made a spirited stand against Parliament's invasion of their right to elect their successors, and, against strong odds, put their own nominees into office in the following year, 1646.¹⁰ But the Covenanting ministers took action against this "insolence" of disaffected persons, who, it appears, lay under the censure of the kirk for "compliance with James Graham." George Porterfield, the Covenanting provost, who had been thrust upon the city in the previous year, with his town clerk, John Spreull, carried a complaint to Edinburgh, and, as a result, the legitimate election was overturned, and Porterfield, Spreull, and their friends were replaced in office, while James Bell and Colin Campbell, the leaders of the party who had attempted to vindicate the city's freedom, were called to the bar of Parliament, found guilty of "scandalizing" the commissioners of the kirk, and clapped into prison in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.¹

⁷ *Burgh Records*, ii, 109; *Act. Parl.* 1646, c. 78.

⁸ *Act. Parl.* VI. i. 681; *Burgh Records*, ii, 111, 112.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, ii, 112.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 100.

¹ *Act. Parl.* VI. i. 625; *Burgh Records*, ii, 102-107. Mr. Harry Gibson, the town clerk ousted by Spreull, apparently brought an action against the Town Council for deprivation of office, and was awarded 3000 merks damages by the Lords of Council and Session. This sum Spreull agreed personally to pay, but in return procured a letter infesting himself in the clerkship and all emoluments for fifteen years. At the same time Spreull was refunded his expenses in the action and presented with the handsome douceur of a half year's salary. The entire transaction was a notable piece of jobbery (*Burgh Records*, ii, 121).

This interference of the Presbytery and General Assembly of the kirk in political and municipal affairs in Glasgow was typical of what was happening throughout the country. The ideals of Calvinism upon which John Knox had modelled the Scottish Church at the Reformation were those of the Old Testament rather than of Christianity, and now, armed with the powers of the Solemn League and Covenant, the ministers of that Church were setting themselves to dominate the affairs, not only of private life, but of the nation, after the fashion of the prophets of early Israel. We have already seen how, by means of a committee, they even attempted to direct the action of troops in the field at the battle of Kilsyth. An attempt of the same kind, attended by still more disastrous results, was that which, a little later, was to give victory into Cromwell's hands at the battle of Dunbar, and lay the whole of Scotland at the Protector's feet. Meanwhile Glasgow had to submit to the officious interference of kirk ministers and a Presbytery who took it upon themselves to arraign the magistrates and censure them for "compliance with the enemy," Montrose, and who, when these magistrates sought to interview the Presbytery while "sitting in judgment," declared themselves to be "insolently affronted, menaced, and upbraided."²

In the same temper, assuming the rôle of the ancient prophets in their dealings with the kings of Israel, these Covenanting ministers endeavoured to impose their dictation upon the king himself. Things had been going badly with the fortunes of Charles, and in the end of April, 1646, disguised as a servant, with cropped hair and beard, he had left Oxford, and made his way to the Scottish camp before Newark. There he was met by the demand that he must sign the Solemn League and Covenant, and order the establishment of Presbyterianism in England and Ireland, and on refusing this demand he was made a prisoner and carried to the headquarters of

² *Burgh Records*, ii. 103; *Act. Parl.* 1646, c. 31.

the Scottish army at Newcastle.³ Charles then once more approached the English Parliament, but was met by it with nineteen propositions, which also included a demand for the establishment of Presbyterianism. These he likewise refused, and the Scottish army, seeing its work was done, transferred the custody of Charles to the English Parliament, along with the various towns and places of strength which it had garrisoned, and on 11th February, 1647, had withdrawn every soldier across the Tweed. As recoupment for its maintenance during the year's campaign in England in the interest of the English Parliament it agreed to accept a sum of £400,000, which was paid in instalments.⁴

The king made his journey southward from Newcastle amid much rejoicing, touching sufferers from the "king's evil," or scrofula, as he went. At Nottingham the parliamentary general, Fairfax, when he met him, kissed his hand; and it looked as if Charles, even without making the concessions which he hated, would very shortly be in full enjoyment of his prerogatives again. A moderate amount of tact and good judgment only was needed on his part; but Charles was not a tactful king. At Holmby House, which he reached on 16th February, he made some unguarded statements which alienated the House of Commons. The Commons accordingly, along with a committee of the Scottish Parliament, proceeded once more to press him for a formal agreement to their demands. It was not till 12th May that he saw his way to agree, and, like all this luckless king's concessions, the agreement came too late.

The army had of late become strongly imbued with the tenets of Independency, a method of church government, or rather lack of government, looked on with much disfavour by the Presbyterians of Scotland and the English House of Com-

³ Burton, vi. 404; *Britane's Distemper*, 193, 194.

⁴ Gardiner, *Civil War*, iii. 180-183.

mons. Parliament accordingly tried to supersede Fairfax, and passed a resolution that no one who did not sign the Solemn League and Covenant could hold a commission. The pay of the army was allowed to fall into arrears, and, a crowning blow, it was decided to disband the troops. At all this the army was furious, and matters were not helped when it became known that the king was to be removed to Scotland, the headquarters of Presbyterianism, whence another Scottish army was to be brought south to enforce the acceptance of the Covenant. In this emergency a meeting of officers was held at Cromwell's house on 31st May, the day before the army was to be disbanded, and it was resolved to seize the person of the king. Early in the morning of 2nd June, accordingly, one Joyce, an ex-tailor, now a cornet of Fairfax's guard, appeared armed with pistols in the king's bedroom at Holmby House, and informed Charles that he must please go with him. "Where is your commission?" asked the unhappy king. "Yonder," said the cornet, pointing to his troop of horse in the courtyard. "It is written in legible characters," answered Charles, and prepared to leave with his captor.⁵ Next, on 6th August, the army occupied London, and proceeded to "purge" the House of Commons of most of its Presbyterian members.

Even then the king might have secured peace by coming to terms with the army leaders, Cromwell, Ireton, and the others. But while he temporized with them, first at Hampton Court and afterwards at Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight, he entered into a secret treaty with the Scottish Commissioners, by which he agreed to confirm the Solemn League and Covenant, establish Presbytery, and concur in the suppression of the Sectaries or Independents. In return the Commissioners "engaged" to restore the king by force of arms. The duplicity of Charles becoming known to Cromwell

⁵ Gardiner's *Civil War*, iii. 251-274.

and Ireton through letters intercepted between him and the queen, they determined that he could never again be trusted with any share in the government. The guards at Carisbrooke Castle were doubled to prevent his escape, and commissioners were sent to the Scottish Parliament at Edinburgh to induce it to refrain from sending an army into England on his behalf.⁶

The treaty with Charles, known as "the Engagement," was supported by the moderate party in Scotland, at whose head was the Marquess of Hamilton, and was resisted violently by the ministers and the extreme party led by the Marquess of Argyll. These extremists declared that Charles had not conceded enough, that he must not only take the Covenant and become a Presbyterian himself, but must compel all others in Scotland and England to do the same.⁷ The ministers denounced from their pulpits all traffic with "an uncovenanted king," and kirk-session records then and afterwards relate the punitive measures taken against all who favoured the Engagement.⁸

Meanwhile public feeling in England veered round once more to the side of the king. London was strongly in his favour; Parliament, at the demand of Scotland, agreed to negotiate with him; Wales rose in insurrection; a strong body of Cavaliers mustered in the north; the fleet declared for him; Berwick and Carlisle were surprised; Chester, Pembroke, and Colchester were held by the royalists; and outbreaks took place in the southern counties. In March and May, 1648, attempts, which, however, did not succeed, were made to secure the escape of Charles. If, in these circumstances, the Scottish Parliament had placed an army at once in the field under an able and energetic leader like Montrose, the whole troubles of the country

⁶ Gardiner, iv. 28-56; Harrison's *Cromwell*, 117-118.

⁷ Burnet, 339; Cunningham, ii. 63.

⁸ MS. minutes of Kilmarnock kirk-session.

might have been brought to an end by the reinstatement of the king on the basis of a limited monarchy. It was not, however, till 23rd May that Hamilton secured from the Scottish Parliament an order to raise 30,000 men, with himself as commander-in-chief, and though by the adjournment of Parliament on 9th June he was left in supreme authority, many delays were allowed to take place.

Hamilton and his party, certainly, had to overcome serious hindrances placed in their way by the ministers and extremists of the Covenanting faction. In Glasgow, indeed, a revolution had to be effected in the city's government before the required levies could be secured. The magistrates who had been placed in office at the instance of the Covenanting extremists in 1645, after the fall of Montrose, were of course opposed to the sending of any help to the king. Accordingly, when the requisition reached them to furnish a certain number of fighting men, they took up the rôle of conscientious objectors. First they sent Spreull, the town clerk, and one of the burgesses to Hamilton to request the county committee to relieve them from the quartering and maintenance of soldiers in the town.⁹ This having proved ineffectual they, a month later, on 23rd May, addressed a formal "supplication" to the same committee, setting forth that, "after serious and particular diligence used to know the mind of this burgh," they found "a general unwillingness to engage in this war through want of satisfaction in the lawfulness thereof." They further declared that they did not find themselves "satisfied in our consciences concerning the lawfulness and necessity of this present engagement, so that we may give our concurrence therein without sin against God." They stated that they were about to address Parliament on the subject, "for further clearing of their lordships' proceedings to the satisfaction of all the well affected," and they begged that delay might be granted till the answer of Parlia-

⁹ *Burgh Records*, ii. 131.

ment should be given.¹⁰ Parliament replied by summoning the provost, magistrates, and Town Council in a body to Edinburgh, and committing them to the Tolbooth for disobedience.¹

At the same time the eight wards of Glasgow sent memorials to Parliament declaring their willingness to obey the orders as to raising troops.² On the strength of this the magistrates and Council who had been ousted in 1645 were replaced in office. At the same time Sir James Turner was sent to Glasgow and soon broke down resistance. "I shortly learned to know," he says, "that the quartering of two or three troopers and half a dozen muskets was an argument strong enough in two or three nights time to make the hardest headed Covenanter in the town to forsake the kirk and to side with the Parliament."³ A few days after the reinstatement of Provost James Bell and his bailies, John Lymburner was appointed captain of the town's company, with James Moresoune, litster, as lieutenant, and John Bell as ancient or ensign, all the male inhabitants were paraded on the Green for enlistment, and the considerable stock of pikes, muskets, swords, colours, and ammunition in the Tolbooth was got out and furbished up.⁴

In consequence of these and similar delays in various parts

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, ii. 134. This supplication probably expressed the sentiments of, and was no doubt drawn up by, the Covenanting town clerk, John Spreull. In consequence he was imprisoned and deprived of office with the magistrates, and there are no entries in the burgh records from 27th May till 13th June, when William Yair was appointed in his place.

¹ *Ibid.* ii. 135.

² *Act. Parl.* 1648, 147.

³ Turner's *Memoirs*, 53-55. This old soldier of fortune from the wars of Gustavus is said to have been the model for Dugald Dalgety in Scott's *Legend of Montrose*. In 1666, while commanding the forces in Dumfries, he was captured by the Covenanters of the Pentland Rising, and carried about with them till their defeat at Rullion Green. He spent his last years and died in the old Baronial Hall in Gorbals, in which Sir George Elphinstone of Blythswood also died, and which was acquired along with the estate of Gorbals itself by Glasgow Corporation in 1650 (*Burgh Records*, ii. 182).

⁴ *Burgh Records*, ii. 141, 142.

of the country, it was not till 8th July, 1648, that the Duke of Hamilton crossed the Border and entered Carlisle. The Scottish army numbered only 10,500 men, a third of the force he had expected to lead. Not one man in five could handle pike or musket, there was no artillery, and the soldiers were short of provisions.⁵ On 17th August the force had reached Preston—a place destined to have so many fatal memories for the Stewarts—when it was attacked by Cromwell with a veteran army of 8600 men, and piecemeal, in a scattered fight which lasted for several days, was defeated with heavy loss. On 22nd August Hamilton capitulated at Uttoxeter, under assurance, he and all with him, of life and safety.⁶ Nevertheless he was arraigned before the same court that tried the king, and was executed on 9th March, 1649. Of the other prisoners, numbers were shipped as slaves to Barbados, Virginia, or Venice.⁷ In this way some of the Glasgow prentice lads who marched to the Border under Captain Lymburner may have seen more of the world than they had dreamed of, or had any desire to know.

The overthrow of Hamilton and his “ Engagers ” at Preston had an instant effect in Scotland. Lord Eglinton, a zealous Covenanter, gathered a large body of men at Mauchline in Ayrshire, and marched upon Edinburgh in what was known as the “ Whigamore’s Raid ” ; Leslie undertook to form a new army of the Covenant ; and Argyll brought a strong force of his Highlanders out of the west. The remnant of the Engagers retired from the capital, Argyll formed a new Committee of Estates with himself at its head, and Cromwell marched to Edinburgh. The English general was lodged in Moray House in the Canongate, and feasted in the Castle. He subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant, and demanded that no person who had been accessory to the Engagement should be “ em-

⁵ Burnet’s *Memoirs*, 355.

⁶ Gardiner, iv. 192.

⁷ Gardiner, iv. 192, 193.

ployed in any public place or trust whatsoever.”⁸ Following this, Argyll’s party, protected by two regiments of English cavalry, passed an act on 27th September by which the provost, magistrates, and Council of Glasgow, who had favoured the Engagement, were deposed, and the body of extreme Covenanters who had preceded them were restored to office.⁹

The party of the Engagement, which had thus held power in the city for no more than three months, were perhaps not unwilling to be relieved of their task. Amid all their arduous labours of raising funds and fitting out soldiers they had had to contend with the worst outbreak of pestilence ever known in the city, and to support large numbers of poor, unable, in consequence of it, to earn a living.¹⁰ The political disability extended even to office-bearers of the Trades House, and, a complaint being made to the Deacon Convener against one John Wilson, “pretendit deacon” of the cordoners, that individual was duly expelled, and a more righteous person installed in his place.¹

An outstanding result of the new turn of affairs was to place the whole concerns of the nation, public and private, under the domination of the ministers of the kirk. The civil power existed for little else than to enforce the enactments of the church courts; every kirk-session became an inquisition ferreting out the most private relationships of the people; even kirk elders were exhorted to spy and report upon each other’s conduct; and in consequence an atmosphere of sanctimonious hypocrisy grew up which was still prevalent a century and a half later, when Robert Burns wrote his scathing satire, “Holy Willie’s Prayer.”² As might be expected, the Glasgow burgh records of the period are largely concerned with affairs of

⁸ Burton, vi. 420; Carlyle’s *Cromwell*, ii. 223 *et seq.*

⁹ *Burgh Records*, ii. 149.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 145-147.

¹ *Burgh Records*, 153.

² MS. kirk-session records of Kilmarnock and other parishes.

the kirk. In October, 1648, it was agreed to divide the Cathedral into an inner and outer kirk with a wall of stone. In December it was "inacted and concludit be all in ane voyce" that each of the town's ministers should "in all tyme comeing" have a yearly stipend of one thousand pounds. And on the kirk-session's request the Town Council agreed that Fergus's Aisle, the most sacred place in the Cathedral, being the ground consecrated by St. Ninian in the fourth century, in which St. Mungo buried the holy Fergus at his first coming to Glasgow, be reserved as a burial-place for the ministers, their wives, and children.³

Among these transactions in which the Town Council associated itself closely with affairs of the kirk, was one carried through by George Porterfield, the provost of the Covenanting faction, and John Spreull, his town clerk. Both of these individuals were very good business men. Porterfield, who had come into notice first as captain of the Glasgow company in the Earl of Leven's first army, was provost, evidently with much acceptance, for a number of years, and was the successful commissioner for the city on many occasions requiring shrewdness and address, while Spreull, as we have already seen, and as there will be occasion to show later, was an adroit administrator in his own interests as well as in the interests of the community. The transaction in which the two were associated at this period which has had most enduring effect was the settlement of the arrangements regarding the High Church or Cathedral. On 7th December, 1647, the two had been deputed to get the king's grant of the spiritual revenues of the archbishopric confirmed by the lords of exchequer. To these, in their somewhat depleted form, had lately been annexed, for support of the dignity of the Protestant archbishopric, the revenues of the parsonage and vicarage. This enterprise Porterfield and Spreull carried through with much wisdom.

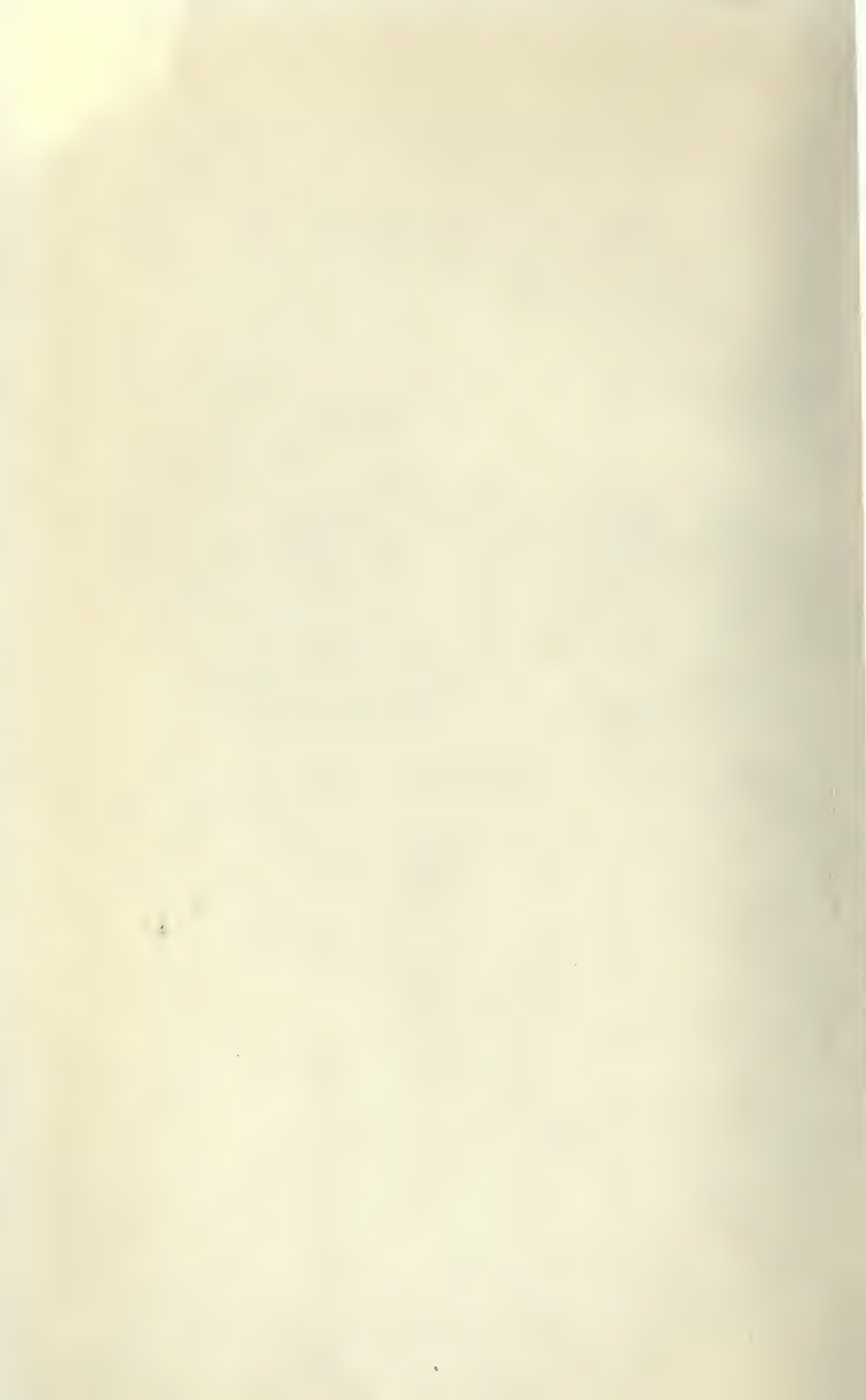
³ *Burgh Records*, ii. 152, 155, 156.



PULPIT HOUR GLASS.



THE "DEID" BELL.



They secured in February, 1648, a charter under the Great Seal, conveying these revenues to the town for the support of a minister to serve the cure in place of the archbishop, for the repair of the High Kirk, and for the support of the schools and hospitals. The Crown retained the right of appointing the High Church minister, while the magistrates and councillors undertook to support the minister so appointed, and also to pay the other ministers of Glasgow certain stipends, six chalders to the minister of the Barony and five chalders to the minister of the new kirk at the Tron.⁴

Meanwhile in England the final attempts at negotiations between the king and his Parliament were taking place. At Newport, liberated on parole, Charles negatived all efforts to arrive at terms. The officers then took the matter up, but with similar result, and on discovering that the king was preparing to escape they carried him on 1st December to Hurst Castle, and confined him as a prisoner.⁵ In rapid succession followed the last acts of the tragedy—the “Remonstrance of the Army,” the military occupation of Westminster, the exclusion of members of Parliament, and the trial of the king. No attention was paid to the protests of the Scottish Parliament, and Charles was beheaded in front of his own palace of Whitehall on the afternoon of 30th January, 1649.⁶

⁴ *Glasgow Charters and Documents*, ii. 418-423; *Great Seal Register*, 1634-51, p. 917, No. 1928.

⁵ Gardiner, iv. 259-260.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv. 293-313.

CHAPTER XXV

UNDER THE COVENANT

WHATEVER may have been the quarrel between the Scots and Charles I. on matters of Church government, it was no part of the desire of the people of Scotland to abolish kingly rule. No sooner, therefore, was news of the execution of the king received in Edinburgh than arrangements were made to proclaim his elder son as Charles II. This was done in the capital on 5th February, 1649.¹ In the Glasgow Burgh Records nothing whatever is said of the execution of Charles I., and it is only on 10th February that an entry appears stating that the order for proclamation of Charles II. had been received late on the previous night. Immediately, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the whole Council marched two by two to the Cross in "ane comelie maner," and, standing on it uncovered, listened while the proclamation was made "with the gritest solempnitie." Afterwards all the bells of the city were rung till twelve o'clock.

The young king was then on the Continent, at The Hague, and commissioners were sent over to offer him the Crown of Scotland on condition that he should accept the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, and give absolute compliance to the will of the Scottish Parliament and the General Assembly. After a year's bargaining, and the forlorn attempt to take the Crown by force of arms which ended in the capture and execution of the Marquess of Montrose, Charles

¹ *Act. Parl.* VI. pt. ii. 157.

agreed to the terms, and landed near the mouth of the Spey on 16th June, 1650. Meanwhile, within a month of proclaiming Charles II., the Scottish Parliament had handed a protest to the English House of Commons, which presently led to a rupture and war between the two countries.²

Glasgow was now to be called upon to stand the brunt of the Civil War, as it had not been called upon to do before, and the story of its fortunes during the three years that followed forms one of the darkest chapters in its annals. These troubles befell the city at a time when it was not too well prepared to meet them, and one can only conclude that it was upheld in the ordeal by a strong sense of the righteously of the cause in which its blood and its treasure were spent and its other sufferings were incurred. For some previous three years, from 1645 till 1648, it had suffered from an infliction of pestilence which not only cut off many of its citizens and taxed its resources to the utmost, but which induced large numbers of people to leave the city in the hope of escaping the scourge. During those years considerable numbers of the poorer folk, suspected of contact with the disease, had had to be supported in temporary quarters on the Gallowmuir to the east of the city. The patience of the people had also been sorely tried by the requisitions of men for the keeping of a constant watch in all quarters of the burgh for the exclusion of plague-infected persons. At the same time the means and youth of the town had been depleted by the repeated levies of money and troops required for the sending of army after army into England, first to oppose Charles I., and afterwards to rescue him.³

In these circumstances, it might be concluded, Glasgow was in no condition to respond to the demands for men, horses, arms, provisions, and money for a new campaign. There were, however, at the head of the city's affairs at that time two men whose zeal for the Covenant was matched by extraordinary

² *Act. Parl.* VI. pt. ii. 276.

³ *Burgh Records*, ii. 144, 146, 151.

natural energy. The provost, George Porterfield, was the same who, at the first outbreak of war against Charles I., had been appointed captain of the Glasgow company in Alexander Leslie's army, and was continued captain in the next campaign.⁴ He was elected the city's commissioner to the Convention of Estates in December, 1644. In October of the following year, after the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh, when the magistrates of Glasgow were ousted for having made treaty with that general, it was Porterfield who was installed as provost at the instance of the ministers and extreme Covenanters. He was one of the conscientious objectors who protested against the furnishing of troops by Glasgow for the Engagement,⁵ and on the failure of the Engagement and the renewed ascendancy of Argyll and the extreme Covenanting party, he was at once re-elected provost.⁶ He was again elected in 1649 and 1651, and when not in office was constantly entrusted with important business for the town.⁷ Even after the downfall of his party at the Restoration, when strict enquiry was made regarding certain sums he had collected for the Protestants in Poland and Bohemia, which had not been sent abroad, he met the obligation and fully satisfied his questioners, and was completely exonerated by the Town Council.⁸ Porterfield's labours for the city appear to have been entirely disinterested. There is no evidence in the Burgh Records that he had any private axe to grind, and one can only regret that more is not known of this staunch Glasgow citizen.

Of John Spreull, the town clerk, not quite so much can be said. He was equally zealous and equally active, perhaps, in the cause of the Covenant and the interests of Presbyterianism. But when the opportunity arose he was no less particular and exacting in securing his own personal interests. In 1647, when he was all-powerful in the Town Council, he induced the

⁴ *Burgh Records*, ii. 64.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 134.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 150.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 194.

⁸ *Ibid.* 452.

city fathers to grant him an engagement with many unusual advantages, emoluments, and powers for fifteen years. In June, 1652, apparently because his own friends were no longer dominant, and an English military governor was in charge of the town, he deserted his office, though again and again desired by the magistrates to continue. In consequence the Town Council appointed its faithful servant, William Yair, to be town clerk, and rescinded all acts, contracts, and promises made with Spreull. Thereupon the latter, going to Edinburgh and becoming one of the Clerks of the Court of Session, returned with a decree of the High Court ordering the Town Council to continue him in his office and emoluments, and allow him to act by deputy, for the period of years of the agreement he had originally secured. Evidently to a great show of zeal for matters of religion, or rather of Church government, Spreull united a very shrewd faculty for attending to his own interests.⁹

Two months after the execution of Charles I., and while the new political troubles between the Presbyterian Government of Scotland and the Independent or Sectarian Government of Oliver Cromwell in England were brewing, Glasgow Town Council, under Porterfield as provost and Spreull as town clerk, carried out its great enterprise of purchasing the lands of Gorbals and Bridgend on the south side of the river. These lands had been rented from the archbishops by the Elphinston family from an early period. In 1579, after the Reformation, the rent was converted into a feu-duty. In 1595 their owner, George Elphinston, resigned these lands, with his other property of Blythswood, on the west of the city, and obtained a precept of chancery erecting the whole into a free barony, the barony of Blythswood.¹⁰ He acquired also the barony of Leyis and the

⁹ *Burgh Records*, ii. 121, 227, 243, 275, 295. Of the use Spreull made of his reinstatement, and his activities during the following years, some account will be found in Chap. xxvii. *infra*, page 323.

¹⁰ Mr. John Ord names his interesting and valuable monograph "The Story of the Barony of Gorbals"; but Gorbals by itself was never a barony.

New Park of Partick, and was knighted by King James VI. In 1634, when Sir George was forced to part with all his possessions, these were acquired by Robert, Viscount Belhaven, representative of the well-known family, Douglas of Mains, near Milngavie. Two years later Lord Belhaven conveyed the lands to Robert Douglas of Blackerstoun and Susana his wife.¹ Robert Douglas in turn was knighted, but the glories of baronial possession and knighthood appear to have been as fatal to the fortunes of Sir Robert Douglas as they had been to his predecessor, Sir George Elphinston. The magistrates and Town Council had in 1635 offered to buy the lands of Gorbals and Bridgend from Lord Belhaven at the price of 100,000 merks (£5555 11s. 1d. stg.), but the negotiations had failed.² In 1648 these negotiations were renewed, with George Porterfield as chief negotiator.³ The money belonging to Hutchesons' Hospital was now available, and the rumour had got about that Blackerstoun was anxious to sell the land. After a year's bargaining the town agreed to pay Sir Robert 120,000 merks, with 2000 merks to his lady—in all the sum of £6777 15s. 6d. sterling—for Gorbals and Bridgend. One half of the lands was acquired on behalf of Hutchesons' Hospital, one-fourth on behalf of the Trades Hospital, and one-fourth for the town itself, the town retaining to itself the superiority and the heritable offices of bailiary and justiciary.⁴ Of the price, half was to be paid at Whitsunday and half at the following Martinmas. Meanwhile, however, war broke out, and because of the successive levies made upon the city a difficulty was found in raising the money. Fifty thousand merks were paid to Sir Robert in June,⁵ but the great disaster of the war, the defeat of the Scottish army by Cromwell at Dunbar, intervened. In September the town was still owing Sir Robert 70,000 merks, with 2100 merks of interest.⁶ In 1653

¹ *Charters and Documents*, i. 495.

² *Burgh Records*, ii. 29, 31.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 128.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 157, 158, 182, 184-185.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 189.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 212.

the town found still greater difficulty in raising the money.⁷ Even part of the funds of Hutchesons' Hospital, which had been lent to the Marquess of Argyll and the laird of Lamont, could not be got in.⁸ It may have been this long delay which brought Sir Robert Douglas to ruin, but in November, 1654, he appears to have been pressed by his creditors, and to have urged the city to pay its debt. In reply the town clerk was instructed to write a somewhat tart letter, stating that "the bargain had not been so profitable to the town as to justify his making so much din over the balance still owing, but that he would be provided for at the magistrates' best convenience."⁹

Meanwhile a bailie (afterwards two) for Gorbals had been added to the number of Glasgow magistrates, the territory had been divided between the city itself, the Trades House, and Hutchesons' Hospital, and the magistrates had pledged the city's portion as security for the £20,000 borrowed at the time of the wars of Montrose.¹⁰

Another enterprise of the city at the same period was the setting up of a municipal factory and waulkmill in Drygait. The undertaking may have been suggested by an "Inglis clothiar" who visited the town in the spring of 1650. At any-rate, an agreement was made with him "for the erecting of the manufactorie and placing him thairin." The salary of this Simon Pitchersgill was to be £45 sterling, and he received £5 sterling in advance on 23rd March. Forthwith a lavish expenditure began on the work. Orders were given for work-looms

⁷ *Burgh Records*, ii. 262.

⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 288.

⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 301.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 195, 277, 281. A full account of the known history of Gorbals is given in the *History of Hutchesons' Hospital* by Dr. W. H. Hill. The price paid by the Trades House for its quarter share of Gorbals was 31,000 merks, equal to £1743 12s. sterling. This was divided into thirty-one shares of 1000 merks each, which were taken up in varying proportions by the different Incorporations or Trades. How extremely profitable the transaction turned out may be judged from the fact that from the six shares purchased for 6000 merks (£333 6s. 8d. sterling) by the Incorporation of Maltmen, the annual revenue from feu-duties to-day is not less than £1000.—*Chronicles of the Maltmen Craft in Glasgow*, 75.

and the making of a mill lade ; an advance of £500 was made for the purchase of mill furnishings in Holland ; authority was given for the purchase of £1000 or £1200 worth of wool, and the agent bought £2000 worth. In May, 1651, Edward Robieson was employed to sell the cloth and collect accounts, but each piece before being sold was to be inspected and measured by a committee. By November of that year difficulties had arisen. It was suggested that a new salesman might be engaged, or that the mill should confine itself to the weaving of cloth after it was ordered. In April, 1652, the undertaking had evidently proved a failure. The town drummer was sent round to intimate that the manufactory would be leased to the highest bidder, and a committee was appointed to take stock and make up an account of the money that had been spent on the enterprise and the amount of cloth sold. At last, in April, 1653, when the city fathers had grown tired of the risk, expense, and trouble of the undertaking, the shrewd Simon Pickersgill secured a lease of the factory for himself. Thus ended an interesting early effort at municipal trading on the part of Glasgow.¹

While these adventures were being undertaken the city was passing through two of the most serious crises in its history. On 3rd July, 1650, Charles II. had arrived at the mouth of the Spey. On the 16th, Cromwell, fresh from his bloody career in Ireland, crossed the Tweed with an army of 16,000 trained veterans, with cavalry and artillery, to oppose him. Immediately Glasgow found itself busy with the raising of troops and money and the provision of arms. The Town Council appointed a captain (Peter Johnston) and eight lieutenants ; a hundred and fifty foot were raised ; a hundred swords were bought at six merks each ; and the townsmen were " stented " or taxed for a sum of 9000 merks. By way of encouragement to enlist it was agreed that all who came forward, if they were not

¹ *Burgh Records*, ii. 185, 186, 187, 188, 199, 200, 207, 215, 224, 225, 264.



OLIVER CROMWELL.



already burgesses, should be made freemen of the city.² On the 2nd September an order was given by the Town Council for "1200 bisket breid" to be sent east to the town's soldiers, but the provision probably never reached them. During that night the Scottish army practically committed suicide.

For a month and a half, acting on the defensive under the capable leadership of David Leslie, it had successfully countered all Cromwell's attempts to reach Edinburgh, and on 2nd September the English general found himself completely checkmated. Hemmed between the hills and the sea near Dunbar, with his army on the point of starvation, he was contemplating the difficult task of embarking his troops on ship-board and escaping by water. Had the army of the Covenant held to its position for another day it seems certain that the campaign would have been decided in its favour, and the whole later history of the kingdom directed into a different channel.³ On that evening, however, Cromwell, anxiously watching the Scottish lines in their unassailable position on the Doon Hill, was startled and delighted to see them begin to move.

The facts were these. Throughout the campaign, following the example of the Jewish prophets of old, a committee of ministers and zealots had accompanied the Scottish army, interfering with its leader's policy and its personnel. This committee, of which John Spreull, the Glasgow town clerk, was probably a member,⁴ had "purged" the army of thousands of its most experienced officers and men because they did not conform exactly to the theological views of the strictest of the Covenanters. In place of the veteran officers thus cashiered the committee had intrusted command, if we may rely upon an English Royalist onlooker, to "ministers' sons, clerks, and such other sanctified creatures, who hardly ever saw or heard of any sword but that of the Spirit—and with this, their chosen

² *Burgh Records*, ii. 188-191.

³ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ii. 164-180.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, ii. 191, 208.

crew, made themselves sure of victory.”⁵ In this temper the committee became impatient of Leslie’s cautious tactics. Looking down upon the English encamped in the park of Broxmouth, and believing themselves inspired, they demanded that the army of the Covenant should no longer provoke the Almighty by its lack of faith, but should at once descend “against the Philistines at Gilgal.” An hour or two sufficed to prove the folly of this proceeding. When the sun rose over the North Sea on the morning of 3rd September, and Cromwell saw that the Scots had left their fastness and were taking position on the level plain, he exclaimed that “God had delivered them into his hands,” and at once ordered an attack. Two regiments in Leslie’s van fought bravely, and were cut to pieces. The rest, undisciplined levies, almost immediately broke and fled. Three thousand were slain and nearly ten thousand captured, with the whole baggage, artillery, and ammunition, including some two hundred colours and fifteen thousand stand of arms.⁶

Adopting a different policy from that which he had pursued in Ireland, Cromwell after his victory showed a disposition to deal leniently with the country. It is true that large numbers of the prisoners of war were shipped as slaves to Venice and the plantations, and when news of the battle reached Glasgow the greatest alarm prevailed. The town’s charters and other papers were sent for security first to Evandale Castle at Strathaven, and afterwards to Carrick Castle on Loch Goil,⁷ and when Cromwell himself shortly after the battle paid a visit to the city most of the magistrates and ministers pusillanimously abandoned their charge and fled to the castle on the Little Cumbrae.⁸

⁵ Sir Edward Walker, 162-164; Hill Burton, vii. 17-21; Arnot’s *Edinburgh*, 4to, p. 133.

⁶ Carlyle’s *Cromwell*, ii. 191, 192.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, ii. 194, 197, 283.

⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 194, 201; Baillie’s *Letters*, iii. 129.

Of the number, however, one dauntless spirit remained at his post. Zachary Boyd, or "Mr. Zacharias," as he is called in the Town Council minutes, appears to have been notable at once for the keenness with which he insisted on the just payment of his dues and for his generosity towards both the city and the university.⁹ His career was typical of the Scottish clergy of the better class in his time. A scion of a good Scottish family, he had graduated at St. Andrews, and been regent of the University of Saumur in France before he became minister of the barony of Glasgow in 1623. On the day after the Scottish coronation of Charles I. in 1633 he met the king in the porch of Holyrood and addressed him in a Latin panegyric. He afterwards, however, signed the Covenant, and stigmatised as "a beastly fool" everyone who drew a sword for the king. He is still popularly believed to have versified the entire Bible, and burlesque verses of uncertain origin are quoted as from that source; but his poetical Work, *Zion's Flowers*, consists really of only twenty-three episodes, and some passages, like the temptation of Joseph by Potiphar's wife, possess no little merit. He was one of the earliest Scottish authors to express himself in Southern English, and his *Last Battel of the Soul in Death* affords a vigorous example of the prose of its time. He was thrice elected Dean of Faculty, thrice Rector of the University, and thrice a member of the Assembly's Commission of Visitation. On his death he left £20,000, with his books and MSS., to the college, which has not yet, however, fulfilled his injunction to print his poems. According to a popular tradition, when he was making his last will and testament his young second wife suggested that he should leave something to Mr. Durham, minister of the Inner High Church. To this Zachary with grim humour replied, "I'll leave him naething but what I canna keep frae him, and that's your

⁹ *Burgh Records*, ii. 36, 253, 259, 305. A full account of Zachary Boyd's career will be found in *The Glasgow Poets*, p. 9.

bonnie sel'." And sure enough, the minister of the barony was little more than eight months dead when she married Mr. Durham.

Cromwell paid his visit to Glasgow in the middle of October, six weeks after the battle of Dunbar. Preparations were being made by the magistrates, at the instance of George Porterfield, to fortify the bishop's castle,¹⁰ and it is said that the Protector was warned not to enter the city by Castle Street, as it was proposed to blow up the stronghold as he passed. He accordingly came in by the Cowgait, now Queen Street, and took up his lodging in the house of Colin Campbell in Saltmarket, afterwards known as Silvercraigs' Land.¹

For a considerable number of years his host had been one of the most outstanding men in Glasgow. He was elected the burgh's commissioner to Parliament in December, 1644, and treasurer to Hutchesons' Hospital five days later.² When his name was put forward in October, 1645, for election as Dean of Guild, it was rejected by Provost Porterfield and his bailies as that of a person who had been implicated in the dealings with the Marquess of Montrose,³ and in December, 1646, he was specially indicted before Parliament by the General Assembly, the Glasgow Synod, and the magistrates of the city for having, along with the old provost, magistrates, and Council, dared to protest to the Presbytery against its high-handed action, and headed "ane unnecessarie and unorderlie convocatione of the multitud of the citie of Glasgow" to back the protest. For this, Campbell and James Bell, the provost he supported, were warded in Edinburgh Tolbooth for a time.⁴ Notwithstanding the offended pretensions of the presbytery, the substantial merchant of the Saltmarket continued to perform a foremost

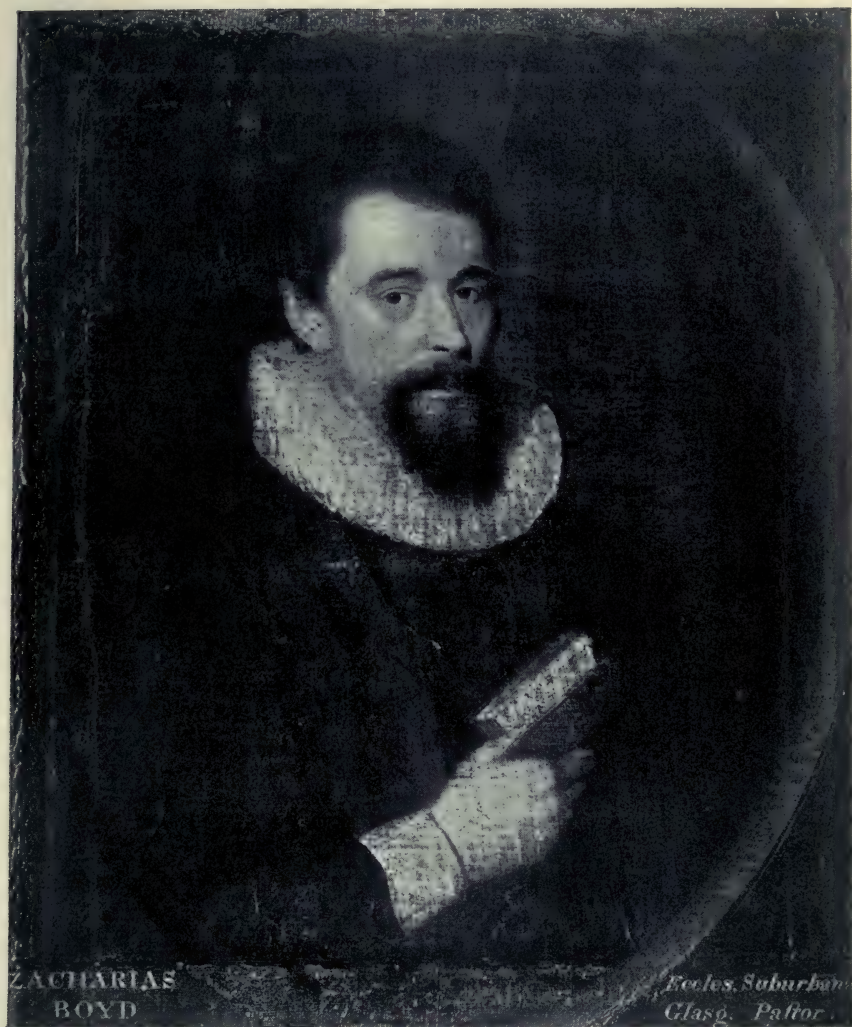
¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, ii. 194.

¹ *Burgh Records*, iii. 138. Silvercraig's estate on Loch Fyne came into practical possession of Colin Campbell's son, Robert, for a debt in 1669.

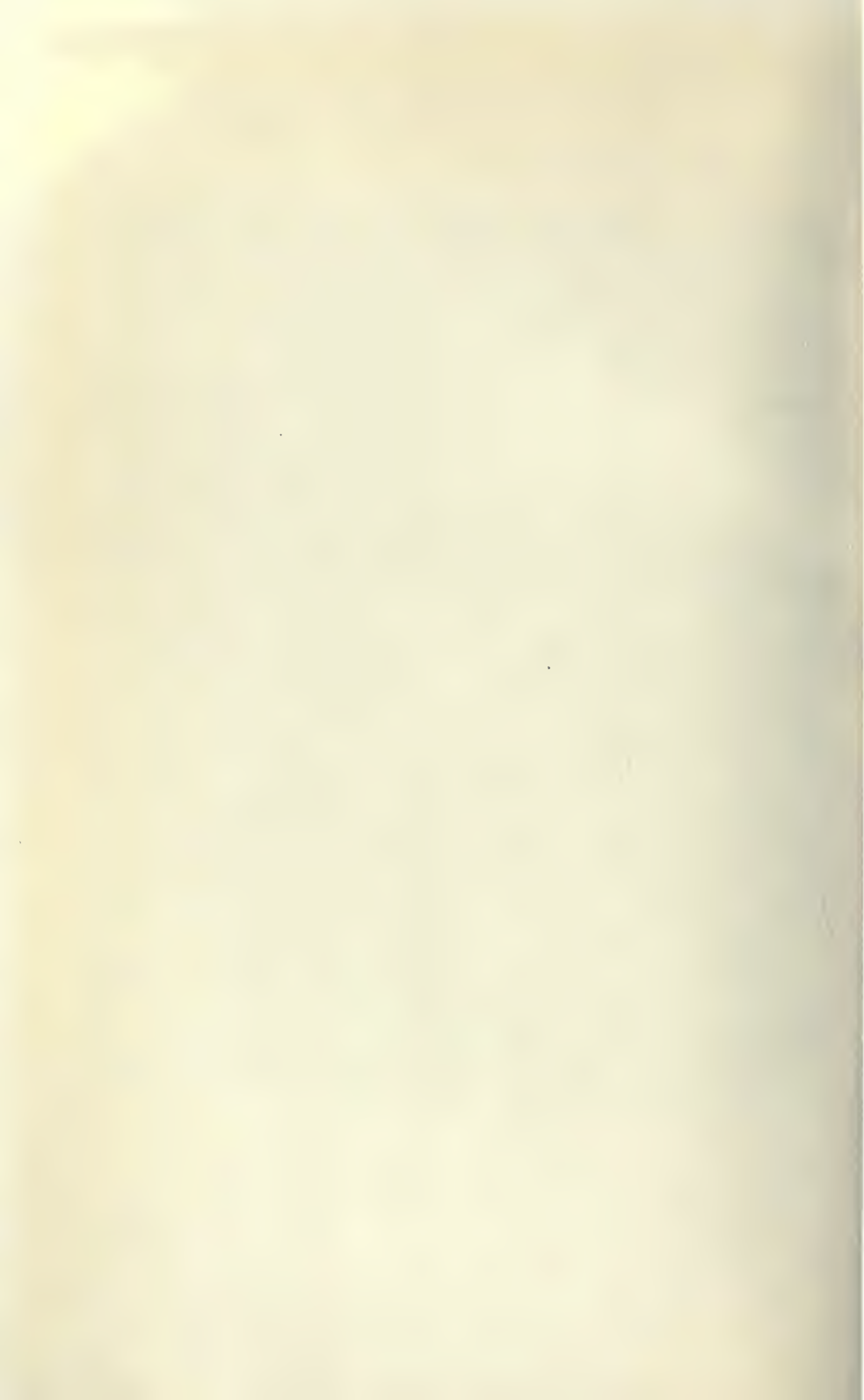
² *Ibid.* ii. 75.

³ *Ibid.* 83.

⁴ *Act. Parl.* 1646, c. 31.



ZACHARY BOYD.



and trusted part in the town's affairs. At the next turn of fortune's wheel, under the Duke of Hamilton's Government, in June 1648, he was elected provost, and though, following the failure of Hamilton's Engagement, he was ousted in the following October, and Porterfield took the provostship, he was to come into his own again at the Restoration.⁵ When the magistrates purchased the lands of Gorbals from Sir Robert Douglas of Blackerstoun, Colin Campbell appears to have acquired from the same owner the lands of Blythswood to the west of the burgh, for in January, 1650, the Town Council minutes record that an agreement had been made "with Coline Campbell for his lands of Blythiswoode" to pay twelve bolls meal and three bolls bear by way of teinds. From that day to this Campbell and his descendants have been owners of Blythswood, and since the date when the stout merchant burgess received Cromwell under his roof the Campbells of Blythswood have entertained more of the royal and state visitors to the city than have been entertained by any other hosts.⁶

Not a great deal is recorded of Cromwell's visit to the city. Baillie in one of his letters states that he himself, when he fled with the ministers and magistrates, "left all my family and goods to Cromwell's courtesy, which indeed was great; for he took such a course with his sojourns that they did less displeasure at Glasgow nor if they had been at London, though Mr. Zachary Boyd railed on them all to their very face in the High Church."⁷ On Sunday, 13th October, the Protector attended service in the Lower Church of the Cathedral, then the place of worship of the barony congregation. The chair in which he sat is still preserved there, as well as the pulpit from

⁵ *Burgh Records*, ii. 140, 150, 452.

⁶ Colin Campbell was evidently a connoisseur in good ale. In 1655 he was fined forty pounds for bringing barrels of that beverage into the city, and so depriving the common good of the sums which should have been paid to the town's mills for grinding the malt for brewing the liquor (*Burgh Records*, ii. 309).

⁷ *Letters*, iii. 129.

which Zachary Boyd preached on the occasion. So fierce did the preacher become in denouncing the errors and heresies of the English leader and his party, whom he banned as sectarians and malignants, that the officer sitting behind Cromwell more than once asked to be allowed to pull "the insolent rascal" out of the pulpit. Cromwell, however, told him the minister was one fool and he another, and bade him sit still, as he would deal with the orator himself.⁸ The tradition runs that he invited Boyd to sup with him in the Saltmarket, and concluded the hospitalities there by engaging in family worship, in which he kept the minister of the barony on his knees by a prayer of three hours' duration. His purpose seems to have been served, for it is said that Zachary Boyd's tone was afterwards much mitigated towards Independency and its adherents.

⁸ The incident from an independent source is recorded by Sir Walter Scott in *Tales of a Grandfather*, ch. xlvi.

CHAPTER XXVI

UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH

BUT though Cromwell's policy was conciliatory, Glasgow suffered heavily in more ways than one. Within a month of the battle of Dunbar the bailies were called upon "to give some considerable charity" to certain poor, honest widows who had great families and had lost their husbands and whole fortunes. There were wounded soldiers back in the town, for whose cure payments to a surgeon are recorded. There were cases like that of John Cotts, who had been taken prisoner by the English and had lost his horse, purse, and arms, for which he was allowed £100. There was ransoming of prisoners confined in Durham and in slavery at Barbados, at the rate of £5 sterling per head in the former case and £22 sterling in the latter. And there were allowances to be paid, and rents and taxes to be remitted on account of crops destroyed by the English. For the crop of Kelvinhaugh, for example, which had been totally destroyed, John Stewart of Balshagrie, who had agreed to pay a rent of £180, was allowed to commute the amount for £40.¹

The town had still more serious difficulties to meet, however. There were English troops quartered in the burgh, and demands for supplies to the garrisons at Hamilton and Dunbarton Castle.² At the same time there were demands for men

¹ *Burgh Records*, ii. 194, 197, 198, 199, 201, 213, 283.

² *Burgh Records*, ii. 196, 199, 204. The demands of the English garrison at Hamilton in December, 1650, amounted to "threttie bollis meill, threttie bollis horse corne, ten bollis malt, and that by and besyde greit quantiteis of cheis,

in support of the Scottish army under Charles II. and the Duke of Hamilton, which had drawn together at Perth and Stirling.³ A letter from the young king himself to the magistrates throws considerable light on the situation :

" CHARLES R.—Trustie and weelbeloved : Wee greet yow weell. The necessitie of our affaires forceth ws at this tyme (the most pairt of our propper rent lyeing whair the enemie hes power, our custumes made ineffectuall, and what was granted to ws by the parliament being for our necessare enterteinment and other neidfull affaires alreddie superexpended) to crave your assistance for the present advance of some money for our furnisheing and necessarie provision agains our goeing to the feilds. These are earnestlie to desire yow presentlie to advance to ws five hundreth pund sterling, for the which soume yow shall have securetie either vpon any of our propper rentes, custumes, impost, or casualiteis within this our kingdome, or otherwayes what other privat securetie yow can crave from the commissioneris of our thesaurie for the same, and interest thair of ; and for that effect that yow send one whome yow trust to Stirling vpon the 20 day of this instant, whare wee shall authorize the commissioneris of our said thesaurie to give yow such securitie, either privat or publict as in reason can be demanded. And the publict securetie shalbe authorized and confirmed by the nixt ensweing parliament for your better securitie. So, expecting your care in provideing with all diligence the said soume as yow tender the good of our service and the honour of this our kingdome, wee bid you fareweell. From our court at Stirling, the 9th of May 1651. [Addressed] To our Trustie and weelbeloved, The Magistrates, Counsel, and Comountie of our Burgh of Glasgow." ⁴

candill, salt, and breid, certifieing that, if they were not thankfullie payed and readilie answerit therof they wald plunder the towne and give it over to the mercie of insolent sogouris " (*ibid.* 256).

³ *Burgh Records*, 200, 202, 204.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 204.



THE SILVERCRAIGS MANSION, SALTMARKET.



Harassed on all sides by such difficulties and demands, the city fathers did what they could. To a demand from the lieutenant general at Stirling for a thousand merks and all the pistols in the town, they replied that they had no money and knew of no pistols in the place. At the same time, however, they managed to send £300 sterling to the king. They afterwards, on pressure by the Committee of Estates, paid the first thousand merks demanded, and they also paid the £500 asked by the king, and other 5000 merks in lieu of a hundred men they should have levied.⁵ In July, 1651, they actually raised and fitted out two hundred men for the king's army, and though they sent a remonstrance to a further request for carts, carters, and artillerymen, they seem in the end to have furnished these, and also to have supplied cheese to the value of £1000 as the town's contribution to the commissariat of the royal army.⁶

These constant demands were met by stenting or taxing the citizens again and again and by borrowing in all directions. Inevitably discontent arose in the city itself: the townsmen refused to pay stent, and the provost himself was mobbed and assaulted.⁷ The temper of the citizens, indeed, had been strained to a danger point, and the city itself had been brought to the edge of ruin, when news arrived that King Charles and his little army had suddenly left the country.

For some time encamped at the Torwood, between Stirling and Falkirk, a strategical position which had been occupied in similar circumstances by Sir William Wallace three and a half centuries before, the royal army had defied Cromwell, and at the same time had barred all passage to the region north of the Forth. At last, however, the English general had made a flanking movement. Sending part of his forces across the Firth of Forth at Queensferry and cutting to pieces a force sent to intercept him at Inverkeithing, he occupied Perth and threatened to take the Scottish army in the rear. Finding his sup-

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 202, 204, 205.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 206-211.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 203, 205.

plies and communications from the north thus cut off, Charles made a bold move. Breaking up camp, he marched rapidly away to the south, and, followed by Cromwell, carried the main drama of the war across the Border. With the battle of Worcester on 3rd September, 1651, exactly a year after the battle of Dunbar, the civil war which had ravaged the country for so many years at last came to an end. Two days before the battle Cromwell's lieutenant, General Monk, who had been left to hold Scotland with five thousand men, stormed and sacked Dundee. A number of the wealthier citizens of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Perth had taken refuge there with their valuables, and in the three days' massacre which is said to have taken place these people no doubt suffered in more ways than one.⁸

At the same time Monk took effective means to prevent supporters of the Covenant from giving further trouble. The whole Committee of Estates, or executive of the Scottish Parliament, was captured at Alyth, near Dundee, by a body of English horse, and shipped off to London.

In January, 1652, Cromwell and a party of commissioners from the English Parliament took up residence in Dalkeith Castle with a view to settling the affairs of Scotland. They invited representatives of the burghs to meet them there, and Glasgow deputed John Graham, a late provost, and John Spreull, the redoubtable town clerk, to attend. The upshot was disastrous to the Covenanting party in the city. The inhabitants, summoned to a public meeting, agreed to the incorporation of Scotland in the English Commonwealth, and at another meeting on 23rd March, by instructions of Cromwell and his commissioners, elected a new provost and bailies, who in turn elected a new Town Council to hold office till the usual time of election in October. By this proceeding George Porterfield as provost, and the Covenanting bailies and Council then holding office,

⁸ Hill Burton, vii. p. 43 ; *Old Stat. Account*, viii. 212 ; Balfour, iii. 314 ; Nicoll's *Diary*, 58.

were once again deprived of power. A few days later John Spreull also was superseded, and William Yair appointed town clerk in his place. As if this were not enough, Porterfield, Spreull, and the others were called to account for their intrusions with the town's moneys and the various debts which had been incurred.⁹

Glasgow quite evidently was hard pressed by all the burdens which had lately been heaped upon it. A significant instance was the condition of Hutchesons' Hospital. The hospital's affairs had been brought to so serious a tangle that the new Town Council made it one of its first duties to hold an enquiry. At that enquiry it was found that all the money owed to the hospital would be scarce enough to pay for its part in the purchase of Gorbals, while the interest due to the hospital would barely cover the interest owing to Sir Robert Douglas on the part of the purchase money still unpaid. At the same time no rents could be got from the Gorbals lands, as these lands had now for two years been eaten up and destroyed by the emergencies of the war. As the hospital now depended for its support almost entirely upon these Gorbals rents, it was no longer able to board and educate its boys. In these circumstances it was resolved that the five poor boys then in the house should be sent home, that the schoolmaster's stipend be stopped, and that the old men in the almshouse be maintained as cheaply as possible.¹⁰

This enquiry, which took place on 3rd June, throws reliable light upon the straits to which the whole community had almost certainly been reduced. These straits might have been considerably relieved if the city had been able to obtain repayment of some of the moneys which, in the absence of any banking system, it had lent out to certain great landowners. It was

⁹ *Burgh Records*, ii. 219, 223, 226.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, ii. 227. The Trades House was in similar difficulties (*ibid.* 250).

not till 1659 that the Duchess of Hamilton, who had fallen into serious arrears of her rent of the town's teinds of Cambusnethan, was got to pay a composition of 1000 merks, and as late as April, 1660, when his own tragic fate was drawing near, the Marquess of Argyll, who had paid no interest for seven years on his loan of 25,000 merks, not only refused payment of the principal, but tried to compound with payment of a single year's interest.¹

But the city had still to suffer its most crushing blow. A fortnight later, on 17th June, 1652, a fire which broke out in Mr. James Hamilton's above the Cross spread rapidly among the "closes," "lands," and "tenements" of Saltmarket, Brig-gate, and Gallowgate, and reduced the whole centre of the town to ruin. It was estimated that four score "closes" had been destroyed and no fewer than a thousand families rendered homeless. In reviewing the disaster five days later the Town Council declared that "vnles spidie remidie be vseit and help soght out fra such as hes power and whois hartis God sall move, it is lyklike the towne sall come to outer ruein."² It was the most devastating misfortune which had ever befallen Glasgow, and happening, as it did, when the resources of the city had been reduced by the war nearly to destitution, it might easily have made an end altogether of the struggling industrial burgh on the Clyde.

Recovering almost immediately, however, from its first gasp of dismay, the Town Council took energetic measures to remedy the disaster. The provost and one of the councillors were sent to Ayr, the headquarters of Cromwell's military government in the west, to secure letters to the authorities in Edinburgh for the securing of help from the English Parliament. By this means the sum of £1000 sterling was secured out of the sequestrated estates in Scotland.³ A supplication was also

¹ *Burgh Records*, 421, 442.

² *Ibid.* ii. 230.

³ *Act. Parl.* VI. pt. ii. 775; *Burgh Records*, ii. 247, 253.

sent to the General Assembly, which granted a licence for a general collection to be made in all the churches throughout the country.⁴ Meanwhile the Council deputed committees to draw up schedules of the actual damage done and the persons who had suffered. Also, foreseeing that, owing to the unusual demand likely to arise, the limited number of wrights and masons in the burgh might penalise the community by demanding exorbitant wages, the Town Council decreed that the remuneration of master workmen should not exceed 13s. 4d. per day, and those of qualified craftsmen 10s. ; also that, provided the wrights and masons who were burgesses of the city were fully employed, it should be lawful to employ workmen from other places at the same rates of pay.⁵ Opportunity was also taken to restrict buildings to the straight line of the streets, and to forbid the putting up of "windskews or hallens" such as had formerly obstructed the streets with overhanging frontages.⁶ In this way, though the streets took long to clear and rebuild, the appearance of the town was actually improved, and though many hardships were suffered by the people, and the churches had to be opened to shelter them, Glasgow gradually rose again from its ashes, and rebuilt its fortunes against the assaults of the future.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, ii. 237, 238.

⁵ Against these arrangements of the city fathers something like a riot took place on 5th February, 1653, when the wrights of the city marched in a body through the streets "with cleukis and balstones in their hands," assaulted the stranger wrights at their work, and broke their tools and benches (*ibid.* 259).

The arrangement with stranger wrights and masons was not finally terminated till 1657 (*ibid.* 370, 377).

Shortly afterwards another attempt was made by the hammermen, which is curiously suggestive of modern Trades Union proceedings. It appears that the deacon and masters of the craft had made a by-law prohibiting any of their craft from working at any branch of the trade excepting that in which he was "booked." A certain Robert Robieson appealed to the Town Council against this by-law, and the city fathers, considering the by-law to be contrary to "the guid of the leidges," declared that a hammerman might undertake any branch of the work of the craft that he was able for, and ordered the hammermen to annul their by-law (*ibid.* 261).

⁶ *Burgh Records*, ii. 230-233.

The deputations sent throughout the country to collect funds appear to have met a generous response, and there are records in the town's minutes of the sending of letters of thanks to places like Leith and Aberdeen.⁷ Cromwell himself also came to the help of the city by ordering that the monthly assessment levied from the townsmen for the support of the army of occupation should be devoted instead to the relief of distress in the burgh.⁸ So rapidly did the town recover that in July, 1655, the Town Council felt itself justified in adding £600 to the £2000 it had already subscribed for the buildings of the College, and in paying a sculptor, James Colquhoun, 500 merks for "hewing, forming, and putting up" the statue of Thomas Hutcheson which still adorns the front of Hutchesons' Hospital.⁹ At the same time it was able, for the benefit of the citizens, to embark with quite notable enterprise on the digging of wells. No fewer than four of these were made at

⁷ *Burgh Records*, ii. 234, 242, 248, 249, 252. In the archives of the Sheriff Court at Tain there is a paper headed "The voluntar contrabutions of the burghes of Tayne, Gevin to the destressit fyrst toune of Glasgow penult Novr., 1652," and giving a long list of 110. The first are:—"Andrew M'Culloche, provist and his familie, 4 lib. (i.e., pounds), 2s 8d; Lachlune Ros, bailzie, 12s; James Hay, bailzie, 17s; Jon Monroe, bailzie, 12s; Walter Hay, bailzie, 12s; David Forrester, 30s; Jon Fergusson, 24s; Mr Wm. Denune (apparently the minister), 12s; Kathrene Ros, his mother, 6s; Wm. Ros, Yor, 12s; Wm. M'Gull, 3s; Agnes Nein (i.e., daughter of) Wat, 1s 6d." The last item is noteworthy:—"From tua poor women in Adam Hayes hous, 8d."

⁸ *Act. Parl.* VI. pt. ii. 755; *Burgh Records*, ii. 291.

⁹ This and the statue of George Hutcheson, which also adorns the front of the hospital, with the bust of Zachary Boyd at the University, are the oldest of Glasgow's personal monuments. The sculptor, James Colquhoun, appears to have been a man of many parts. Following the great fire the city fathers made successive purchases of large numbers of leather buckets and fire ladders, but these were superseded when in 1656 Colquhoun was commissioned to construct Glasgow's first fire engine on the model of one already existing in Edinburgh. For this he was paid £25 sterling. He was also paid 400 merks for painting the faces and gilding the letters of the town's clock in the Tolbooth steeple, the work including the painting and fixing of "the town's arms and year of God" on each face of the "horologe." Latterly he appears to have been elected to the Town Council, and to have taken a prominent part as a baillie in the conduct of civic affairs (*Burgh Records*, ii. 282, 331, 344, 358, 366, 367, 373).

this time, in Trongate, Saltmarket, at the Greyfriars gate, and at the mouth of the Stinking Vennel above the Cross.¹⁰ Also for the good of the townspeople the Council agreed to pay 2000 merks to Patrick Bryse, weaver, and James Anderson, Gorbals, to enable them to open a coal-pit in Gorbals muir, for which they were to pay a rent of 600 merks for thirteen years. This was the beginning of the great coal-working on the south side of the river which has continued till the present day.¹

Taking all things into consideration, there can be little question of the fact that the eight years of Cromwell's rule in Scotland were a blessing to the country in general and to Glasgow in particular. The intolerable tyranny and interference of the Covenanting ministers—Resolutioners, Remonstrants, and the rest—was brought to an end when, in July, 1653, Lieutenant-Colonel Cotterel closed the General Assembly, and with a few musketeers and a troop of horse escorted the members a mile out of Edinburgh, and intimated that they must refrain from further meeting, and leave the city on pain of imprisonment.² The Court of Session, which might easily have become a source of trouble, was superseded by a Commission of Justice—four Englishmen and three Scotsmen—which, whatever its drawbacks, certainly took pains to administer even-handed judgments.³ The Marquess of Argyll, about to hold a meeting of Parliament at Kilmun, which would almost certainly have taken measures to continue the war, was induced to sign a treaty by which he undertook to live at peace under the Commonwealth Government. Finally a union of the Scottish and English Parliaments was effected, which threw the whole trade of England open to the Scots.⁴ Under this last arrangement Glasgow, on 22nd July, 1654, elected a

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 294, 298, 299, 316, 317, 318, 322, 336.

¹ *Ibid.* 308.

² Baillie's *Letters*, iii. 225, 226.

³ Hill Burton, vii. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.* vii. 48, 52.

commissioner to attend the Parliament at Westminster,⁵ and ordered the coin of the Commonwealth to be accepted as legal tender.

It is true that Cromwell's government in Scotland was based throughout on military force. His four great citadels—at Ayr, Leith, Perth, and Inverness—effectually prevented any military risings. Glasgow had constant comings and goings of troops, with requisitions for billets, transport, etc. On 19th June, 1654, the Tolbooth was occupied by a garrison for which the town had to supply beds, blankets, and other furnishings. In September Andrew Gibson had to be turned out of his house to provide quarters for Lieutenant-Colonel Cotterel, when the city again had to supply furnishing. And at the same time the flesh market was requisitioned for the accommodation of certain horse guards, who were supplied with coal, candle, and peats.⁶ But the gains under this well-guarded peace were much greater than the losses. The city had time to gather its strength and rebuild its fortunes. From first to last neither the townsmen themselves nor their friends elsewhere seem ever to have doubted its future. An eloquent instance of this was furnished by the noted lawyer, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, one of the judges of the Court of Session who lost their places during the Commonwealth, and a brother-in-law of the poet, Drummond of Hawthornden. Sir John, in consideration of the late calamity of fire and his own connection with this "prime city of the west," endowed in Glasgow a fund for putting poor boys of the name of Scott to learn crafts. The

⁵ *Burgh Records*, ii. 292, 423. The commissioner received a salary for his trouble (*ibid.* 363).

⁶ *Burgh Records*, ii. 290, 296, 297, 322. This military occupation of the Tolbooth caused the city one regrettable loss. In order to clear the soldiers out of the Tolbooth the magistrates in 1656 built a guardhouse about and upon the town's Cross. Three years later, when an order was received to demolish the guardhouse, it was found that the Cross had been so much defaced that the magistrates decided to have it removed. Thus disappeared one of Glasgow's most interesting and historic monuments (*ibid.* ii. 330, 331, 432).

fund, amounting to sixty bolls of victual, was secured upon a property known as Puckie and Puckie Mill, in Fife.⁷ The value of this endowment may be judged when it is noted that the entire revenue, at that time, of the Leper Hospital beyond the bridge, probably Glasgow's oldest charitable institution, was no more than six bolls of meal and £12 8s. 4d. Scots in money rents.⁸

Tucker, Cromwell's commissioner, who drew up a report for the Protector on the condition of Scotland in 1656, described Glasgow in very favourable terms. "This town," he said, "seated in a pleasant and fruitful soil, and consisting of four streets handsomely built in form of a cross, is one of the most considerable burghs in Scotland, as well for the structure as trade of it. The inhabitants, all but the students of the college which is here, are traders and dealers—some for Ireland with small smiddy coals in open boats from four to ten tons, from whence they bring hoops, barrel staves, meal, oats, and butter ; some for France with pladding, coals, and herring, of which there is a great fishing yearly in the western sea, for which they return salt, paper, rosin, and prunes ; some to Norway for timber, and every one with their neighbours the Highlanders, who come hither from the isles and western parts. Here hath likewise been some who have ventured as far as Barbadoes ; but the losses they have sustained by reason of their going out and coming home late every year have made them discontinue going there any more."⁹ According to the same authority, Leith was the chief port of Scotland, possessing fourteen vessels, while Montrose, Kirkcaldy, and Glasgow came next with twelve vessels each. Among the imports of Glasgow mentioned in the burgh records were iron, lemons, and "oringeris," and among the exports were red herrings, which are said to have been first

⁷ *Burgh Records*, ii. 266, 267, 271, 300, 328, 333.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, ii. 293.

⁹ *Report* (Bannatyne Club), 25, 38.

made at Greenock by Walter Gibson, afterwards provost of the city, from which fact, it is believed, they have since been known as "Glasgow magistrates." On 19th September, 1657, the Town Council directed a letter to be sent to the laird of Kilbirnie thanking him for his offer to allow the burgesses to "make their herring on his land at Greenock, and to put up wooden houses there for the purpose."¹⁰

Already in 1659 Glasgow was seeking a better outlet to the sea. Irvine had previously been available, but Tucker reported that the harbour there was becoming choked with sand. Dunbarton had always been hostile, and as late as 1658 had been the scene of a riot in which a Glasgow ship was plundered of its "hail saills, amunitioun, missoures, armes, guid, and gear," and its master, Robert Bogle, a burges of Glasgow, was thrown into prison.¹ Accordingly, arrangements were made for "sighting" the ground for a possible harbour at Newark, further down the river, where Port-Glasgow was presently to be built.²

The rising tide of the city's prosperity may be gauged by the proposal of the merchants to rebuild their "hospital" in Briggate with a higher steeple than that of Hutchesons' Hospital, containing a clock and bell. Towards this work the Town Council contributed one hundred pounds sterling. The work was entrusted to Sir William Bruce, builder of the new part of Holyrood, and master of the famous architects, the brothers Adam, and till the present day the steeple remains one of the finest architectural features of the city.³

Following the great fire, the city fathers prohibited the making of candles in houses within the burgh on account of the risks involved. The prohibition apparently opened the way for the rise of a new industry, and in 1658 permission was granted to build no fewer than four candle factories. These

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, ii. 379.

¹ *Ibid.* 395, 396.

² *Ibid.* ii. 417, 420. *Infra*, p. 335.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 412.

were kept well away from the buildings of the city, and were erected on "the townes rig," six score ells to the west of the thorn hedges of the flesh market in High Street. Their site is commemorated in the name of the street known as Candleriggs at the present day.⁴

The mansion house of Gorbals, which with its yards and grounds was leased to the young Marquess of Montrose for five years at a rent of £180 Scots, was put into thorough repair.⁵ At the same time the town's desire to keep abreast with the larger events of the hour is shown by the request sent to the agent of one of the city merchants in London "to send hom for the tounes vse weiklie ane diurnall."⁶

But while Glasgow itself obviously prospered under Cromwell's iron rule, the Town Council had certain internal troubles to overcome. One of these seems to have been an attempt by Patrick Gillespie,⁷ principal of the College, with the ministers of the Presbytery, to regain domination in the public affairs of the town. Gillespie appears to have sent a complaint regarding the personal conduct of certain members of the Council itself to the Protector in London, which was by him sent down to General Monk for report. Monk in his reply advised Crom-

⁴ *Burgh Records*, ii. 311, 401.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 367, 381.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 377, 400.

⁷ Patrick Gillespie was one of the extremist ministers of the Covenant. A brother of George Gillespie, the "Galasp" of John Milton, and youngest member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, he was appointed minister of the Outer High Church, Glasgow, when the nave of the Cathedral was first fitted up for a separate congregation in 1648, and he was a strong opposer of the Engagement. After the defeat at Dunbar he raised the "Westland Force," and drew up its Remonstrance against the treaty with Charles II. He was deposed for protesting against the treaty with "Malignants," and was leader of the "Protesters." In the following year, 1652, he was appointed principal of Glasgow University by Cromwell, visited London, was intimate with Lambert and Fleetwood, and was granted powers, known as "Gillespie's Charter," to enable the Protesters to remodel the Scottish Church after their own ideas. He secured additional revenues for his university from the property of the church, but after the Restoration suffered deprivation and imprisonment. His arrest in 1660 was actually made by the Town Council which he had constantly endeavoured to harass. (*Burgh Records*, ii. 450.)

well not to interfere, pointing out that interference would be resented by all the burghs in Scotland, which burghs had from first to last been the best friends of the Commonwealth. He had learned, he said, that the persons complained of were good men, and he advised that the matter should be left to the free election of the citizens. Notwithstanding this advice, Cromwell ordered that the election of magistrates and Council should be delayed till he had been better informed on the subject of complaint. A remonstrance was sent to Cromwell's secretary, Thurlow, by Lord Desborough in Edinburgh, with the suggestion that instead of arbitrarily imposing a magistracy of his own upon the burgh he should merely recommend some honest, godly man for election as provost, and use personal influence to have desirable individuals elected to the other offices. The magistrates had to send witnesses, however, to attest the uprightness of their life and conversation before a committee in Edinburgh, and to agree that, for peace sake, nine of the Council should retire at the next election, and be replaced by nine persons "of that partie quha ar awned be Mr. Patrick Gillespie." But Gillespie, who had Cromwell's ear, would brook no delay; he must have immediate execution. Accordingly, by order of General Monk, an election was held on 2nd March, and a new set of magistrates and councillors appointed.⁸ It would appear, however, that the new Town Council was no more inclined than its predecessor to be compliant with the desires of the reverend principal and his friends. With only one dissentient it determined to continue its case against him before the Council of State in Edinburgh, and to that end to employ "advocattis, lawiouris, and all vtheris of that kynd" to plead in law for it. At the same time the magistrates proceeded to carry the war into the opposite camp by refusing the request of the kirk-session to appoint its nominee, Mr. George Campbell, to the pulpit of the Inner High Church until he had

⁸ *Burgh Records*, ii. 379, 382, 388, 390, 391.

first come to the city and preached several times "for the better satisfaction of the people." If he refused, the Town Council unanimously declared that it would appoint Mr. James Ferguson, minister at Kilwinning, to the vacant place. Campbell refused, and the Council, along with the parishioners, sent a call to Ferguson. Gillespie struck the next blow by demanding that the town should pay over to the College 7000 merks which it held under the testaments of William Struthers and Zachary Boyd as endowment of certain bursaries of which the town was patron. So the contest went on, the Town Council carrying off the honours at every encounter, and, moreover, maintaining to the end, when it achieved complete victory, a courtesy and fairness which are conspicuously absent from the procedure of Gillespie and his friends.⁹ The episode is valuable as evidence that the public had at last grown tired of the interference of the ministers in secular affairs, which had been so marked a feature of the Covenanting régime.

Another curious incident was a dispute with the surgeons and barbers, led by their quarrelsome deacon, John Hall. This body counted its existence from a patent granted by James VI. in 1599. In 1656 the Town Council, at Hall's instance, granted it a "letter of deaconhood," which established it among the trades incorporations of the city. In 1658 the Town Council deferred the election of a deacon convener for the Trades House till it should be decided whether those who had taken part in the Engagement of 1648 were still disqualified. Thereupon Hall, who was now an ex-bailie, tabled a leet of three persons for the office. At the same time Archibald Anderson, on behalf of certain other trades, tabled a competing leet of three. William Boyd, another deacon, protested against Hall's list. On the ground that these proceedings were irregular the Town Council refused to make an appointment. Hall then appeared

⁹ *Burgh Records*, ii. 385, 399, 403, 404, 408, 409, 410, 413, 414, 419, 427, 434, 435, 438, 440, 442, 458.

“ with ane multitud at his back ” at the door of the Council House, and not being allowed to bring in his friends, protested where he stood. Next, at a court dealing with a complaint brought up by certain of the surgeons, Hall was excluded till the books of the craft should be produced. It was then found that Hall had interlined and deleted entries in the book without authority, and that, slighting the letter of deaconhood granted by the town, one Thomas Lockhart, an apothecary who was not a surgeon, had been appointed deacon. The Council therefore declared the deaconship vacant.¹⁰ Thus ended what appears to have been the last of the troubles entailed on Glasgow by the acts of Argyll and the Covenanting Government when it found itself in unquestioned power in Scotland after the failure of the Engagement twelve years before.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, ii. 340, 341, 377, 416, 417, 430, 432, 433, 437.

CHAPTER XXVII

UNDER THE MERRY MONARCH

THE eight years of Cromwellian rule in Scotland must be regarded as the happiest the country had seen for a century. It is true that the Government was a military despotism, but it victimized no section of the community, and it fulfilled admirably the chief functions of a government: it defended the nation from its enemies abroad, and it kept the peace effectually at home. Neither Prelatist nor Covenanter was permitted to tyrannize over his neighbour, and the people enjoyed a period of peace which allowed them to increase their comfort and prosperity. A further advantage was that the practical union with England allowed of Scottish products being traded freely across the Border, and of Scottish vessels doing business in the Irish ports and even in the English colonies across the Atlantic. In their synods and kirk-sessions Remonstrants and Resolutioners might rail against the unholy doctrine of toleration, but they were effectually prevented from tearing each other's throats, and meanwhile the country was attending to industry, and presumably gathering wider views of life from increasing intercourse with foreign parts.

An interesting picture of Glasgow at this time is given by an English traveller, Richard Franck, in his *Northern Memoirs*. He describes the place as a city within whose flourishing arms the industrious inhabitant cultivated art to the utmost. The streets, he says, were "good, large, and fair," and the Tolbooth "very sumptuous" and "without exception the paragon of

beauty in the west." Of the city merchants and traders he speaks as having their warehouses "stuffed with merchandise," while "their shops swell big with foreign commodities and returns from France and other remote parts." Further, "they generally exceed in good French wines, as they naturally superabound with flesh and fowl." The linen, he observed, was "very neatly lapped up" and "lavender proof," while the people were "decently dressed" and preserved "an exact decorum in every society," which reminded him closely of his own England.¹

With the death of Cromwell, however, on 3rd September, 1658—the anniversary of his victories over the Scots at Dunbar and Worcester—and with the consequent break-up of the Commonwealth, the period of enforced peace and quiet prosperity came presently to an end.

Strangely enough, as it was Scotland which, by the General Assembly at Glasgow in 1638, took the lead in the movement which resulted in the overthrow of Charles I., so it was from Scotland that the movement came which resulted in the restoration of Charles II. While the various successive packed and purged Parliaments at Westminster, and the Puritan army at their gates, were alternately attempting to destroy each other, General Monk, the commander of the Cromwellian army in Scotland, resolved on a master stroke—to settle all differences by recalling the exiled king. His ostensible purpose was to secure the establishment at Westminster of a Parliament freely elected by the people, and free from the dictation or domination of the army leaders. To prevent his action General Lambert with a body of troops hastened to the north. But before Lambert could effect his purpose Monk had called together the men of means and influence in Scotland, and, fortified with supplies of money and an assurance of support, was already on his way south. It was in November, 1659,

¹ *Northern Memoirs*, 104-107.

that he crossed the Tweed at Coldstream. Everywhere he was met by the cry for a free Parliament, and by the time he reached London the whole situation lay in his hands. He removed all danger likely to arise from the army by dispersing it in detachments over the country. A new Parliament, to be afterwards known as the Convention, was called together, and while it was debating terms to be offered to the king, Monk had already opened negotiations with the exiled Court. Charles landed at Dover on 25th May, and amid boundless enthusiasm made his way to Whitehall.

In the official Glasgow records there is not much to connect the city with the outstanding event of that time. The project of the Restoration, however, was evidently well known by the Glasgow authorities. On 15th May, ten days before the king's landing, the Town Council invested the provost with emergency powers to act at once upon any proclamation regarding "his Majestie their lawfull King" which might reach the town, and on the 26th of the month it was agreed to send His Majesty "an address and supplicatioun," of which the provost submitted a scroll. The actual news of the king's return evidently reached Glasgow on 4th June, for on that day a sum of 54 shillings was "sent east to Johne Nicoll and William Rae for wrytting and sending intelligence to the toune"; on 18th June the town clerk issued a proclamation "for onputting of baill fyres and using the remanent solemnities" for celebrating the "happie returne," these "remanent solemnities" including the broaching of two hogsheads of wine by the town's garrison.²

One immediate result of the Restoration was the dissolution of the Union of the Parliaments which had been arranged by Cromwell. For immediate attention to the affairs of the northern kingdom there was revived the Committee of Estates, to which the Scottish Parliaments had been wont to delegate

² *Burgh Records*, ii. 443, 445, 447.

their authority, and it was perhaps significant that on 31st August a letter was produced to the Town Council, by which the king himself nominated the provost to be a member of that Committee. The Council dutifully accepted the nomination, and ordered the provost to receive £20 sterling for his expenses in attending the meetings.³ This action was followed by a letter from the Chancellor, the Earl of Glencairn, through the Convention of Burghs, directing that, in the forthcoming election of magistrates, councillors, and office-bearers, no one should be chosen who had shown disaffection to the Royal cause.⁴ In agreement with this order the Town Council appointed a committee to scrutinize the records of candidates. Then, upon instructions direct from the earl, they elected for the coming year the provost and magistrates "that were most unjustlie thrust from their places in anno 1648." In this way Colin Campbell of Blythswood, who had been provost for a few months during Hamilton's "Engagement" in that eventful year, though somewhat reluctant on account of his advanced age, once more returned to office.⁵

By the end of October the last soldiers of the Cromwellian garrison had left the city. It was probably with a feeling of relief for their removal that the Town Council voted a sum of one hundred pounds sterling as a loan towards paying the debts owed by the soldiers to the citizens, and forthwith proceeded to appoint night-watchmen to take the place of the military sentries.⁶

But there were also other scores which were not so easy and pleasant to pay off. As already mentioned, George Porterfield, the keen and active Covenanting provost, was called to account for moneys he had collected for the help of the Protestants in Poland and Bohemia. On the recovery of the amount it was applied to purposes nearer home. Six hundred merks were

³ *Burgh Records*, ii. 451, 452.

⁴ *Ibid.* 449.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 449.

⁶ *Ibid.* 454, 455.

given to Borrowstoness and four hundred to Crail, in name of help asked by these two places, and the balance was reserved for the use of the College.⁷ Complaint was also made to Parliament that Porterfield, when provost, had oppressed three score and twelve burgesses of the city, because they were Royalists, by quartering soldiers in their houses.⁸ Patrick Gillespie, principal of the University, and previously minister of the Outer High Church, who, as a "Remonstrant" and "Protester," and leader of the extreme Covenanting party, had done his utmost to persecute men of moderate views, was arrested and imprisoned.⁹ And James Porter, clerk of the kirk-session, evidently a busybody of the narrowest and most intolerant sort, who had insistently prosecuted Gillespie's accusations against the moderate members of the Town Council and others, was similarly called to account for his behaviour. Complaint was made against him to the Committee of Estates that he had brought a hundred and fifty witnesses against the petitioners without giving them any accusation to meet, and had damaged and defamed them in his effort to bring them under fine and imprisonment. By the Committee of Estates he was remitted to the magistrates of Glasgow to be dealt with. The magistrates asked him to produce the indictment he had drawn up in his oppressive action, and on his persistent refusal to do so, they ordered him to remove himself, with his family and all his belongings, out of the burgh, and not to come within ten miles of it without their permission.¹⁰

But the person who was to suffer most severely from the turning of the tables was the redoubtable town clerk, John Spreull. As already noted,¹ Spreull had absented himself from

⁷ *Burgh Records*, ii. 446, 452, 453, 463.

⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 461.

⁹ *Supra*, p. 315; *Burgh Records*, ii. 450. It was characteristic of Gillespie that, when deprived of office, he refused to give up the University writs and the principal's house, and not only left the College deeply in debt, but claimed 9000 merks as salary till Whitsunday, 1661.—*Priv. Coun. Reg.*, 1st Oct., 1661.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 458.

¹ *Supra*, chap. xxv. p. 292.

his post in the early days of Commonwealth rule, and, refusing to return, had been deposed by the Town Council; but two years later, by means of an order from the Court of Session, had forced the magistrates to reinstate him under the original agreement he had secured in 1647, conferring on him the office and its emoluments for fifteen years. In September, 1661, the Town Council again took up the matter. By the ordinance of the Committee of Estates, Spreull, as notably a disaffected person, and already incarcerated for his offences, was incapable of holding office, and the Town Council accordingly once more declared his place vacant. At the same time they rescinded all agreements made in his favour, forbade William Yair, who had acted as his depute, to pay over to him any of the fees accruing to the post, and unanimously appointed the latter to be clerk to the burgh.² A month later Spreull was summoned and required to produce his original lease of the clerkship, and also his agreement with Yair as his depute. On refusing, he was committed to prison till the documents were produced. Under this compulsion he gave way, and the Town Council proceeded to examine the documents. It was found that the original grant of the clerkship contained an express provision that if, upon trial, it was found that he had committed any fault worthy of deprivation, the agreement became null and void. Further, it was found that the decret from the Court of Session by which he had forced the magistrates to reinstate him bore a date when that Court was not sitting, and was therefore of no effect. Also, although the decret absolved William Yair from repayment of any of the dues he had received while acting as Clerk, Spreull had made him hand over a thousand merks. The Town Council, now examining the case, found that Spreull had again and again incurred the annulment of his agreement. He had appeared with Patrick Gillespie again and again in charges which placed the magis-

² *Burgh Records*, ii. 467.

trates of the burgh in peril of their lives. He had been the chief mover in their being compelled to exhibit the Council books, a derogation never before experienced. And he was known to have been the main fomentor of the troubles among the burgh crafts, and of the insults offered by these crafts to the magistrates. By these many and divers faults, it was declared, he had many times forfeited his office. He was therefore ordered to refund all the fees and casualties he had received as clerk since the date when he appeared with Patrick Gillespie in the action against the magistrates, and also to sign a discharge for all fees he might have claimed in the future exercise of the clerkship. Failing to do this he was to enter his person in ward till he had obeyed the order. The experiences of Spreull's cousin as a prisoner in the island fortress in the Firth of Forth, from which he got the name of Bass John, are familiar to all readers of Covenanting literature ; but the facts of the active participation of this older member of the family in the embittered politics of the time, as set forth in the actual records of Glasgow, are by no means so well known.³

These events in Glasgow were closely related to the main developments of Scottish history at the time. Three months after the king's return a small body of extremist ministers and

³ *Burgh Records*, ii. 469, 472. In 1696, after the Revolution, Spreull's son brought an action against the town.—*Ibid.* iii. 440, 453. A full account of the trial of Bass John Spreull, who was a merchant in Glasgow, is given by Wodrow, ii. 165. This was reprinted, along with several of Spreull's own writings, in a memorial volume by his representative, John William Burns of Kilmahew, in 1882. In the introduction it is stated that Spreull was one of the largest subscribers to the Darien Expedition, left a considerable library of Greek, Latin, and French works and English divinity, and that he was the greatest trader in Scotland in pearls. The writings include an elaborate address to the Government urging the exclusion of English manufacturers from Scotland by way of retaliation for the exclusion of Scottish products from England and Ireland, also a lengthy disquisition on the wrongs he had suffered in the year 1702 in not being duly allotted a seat as a heritor in several of the Glasgow churches, treatment which he characterises as "contrary to the Rule of God's Word, the Practice of present Churches, and the Acts of our General Assembly." Spreull was born in 1646 and died in 1722.

elders had met in the house of Robert Simpson in Edinburgh to draw up a "supplication" to His Majesty. The supplication took the shape of a reminder that Charles on his first coming to Scotland had signed the Solemn League and Covenant, and it instructed him that he must establish Presbyterian Church government in his three kingdoms, and must extirpate Popery, Prelacy, superstition, heresy, etc. Should he fail in this he was threatened with "fearful wrath from the face of an angry and jealous God."⁴ The "supplication" was never presented, but its authors, Gillespie, as above mentioned, and Simpson himself, were arrested by the Glasgow authorities, under a warrant from the Committee of Estates, and confined in Edinburgh Castle. Gillespie lay long in prison, and would have suffered more severely but for the interest of his relative, Lord Sinclair, and his own abject submission.⁵

The new Scottish Parliament met at the beginning of 1661, with, as its Lord High Commissioner, the soldier of fortune, General John Middleton, created Earl of Middleton for the occasion. Its first proceeding was to annul the Acts of all the Parliaments held since 1633. In this the Government followed the unwise and dangerous precedent set by the Covenanting Parliament of 1649, which first of all excluded all members who had voted for the Engagement, and then repealed all Acts of the Parliament which had authorised that undertaking.⁶

Measures were next adopted against certain outstanding enemies of the Royal cause. Among these the Marquess of Argyll was one whose activities could not be overlooked. Besides his acts which had led to the overthrow and death of Charles I., he could not but be held responsible for deeds like the massacre in cold blood of the Royalist prisoners captured at Philiphaugh, and for the vindictive execution of the Marquess of Montrose. There could also be cited against him transac-

⁴ Wodrow, i. 68.

⁵ M'Ure, 1830 ed., p. 188.

⁶ Andrew Stevenson's *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, p. 610.

tions like the massacre of the three hundred Macdonalds at Dunaverty in Kintyre, and the destruction of Gylen and Dunolly, strongholds of the Macdougalls—both families being hereditary rivals of his own house ; along with the premeditated and cold-blooded murder at Dunoon of some two hundred and thirty of the Lamonts, a clan whom his family had been seeking for centuries to oust from Cowal. Any one of these deeds would have justified the bringing of his head to the block. The record of his trial has been lost, but he was beheaded on 27th May, 1661, on the spot in the High Street of Edinburgh at which Montrose had suffered a much more agonizing death at his instance ten years before.

At his death Argyll was owing Glasgow a great sum of money. A representation of the city attended a meeting of his creditors in Edinburgh, but there is no record that the money was ever recovered.⁷

Only two other individuals suffered capital punishment in Scotland for the actions they had taken against the Royal authority in the recent troubles. One was Archibald Johnston of Warriston, Lord Clerk Registrar, who had helped Henderson to draw up the National Covenant, had taken a leading part in the trial of Montrose, and had sat in Cromwell's House of Lords. The other was James Guthrie, minister of Stirling. Hill Burton describes him as "the most vehement, active, and implacable of all the Remonstrants," and declares that his execution converted him "from an active, troublesome priest into a revered martyr." Women dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, and legends about him became embodied in Covenanting literature.⁸

Meanwhile, in May, an Act had been passed ordering that the anniversary of the king's restoration should be kept as a holiday. Some extremists among the ministers objected to

⁷ *Burgh Records*, ii. 494, iii. 7.

⁸ Hill Burton, vii. 151-153 ; Wodrow, *Analecta*, i. 109.

this as an idolatrous proceeding, and they were accordingly denounced as pretenders "to ane greater measure of zeal and piety, and no less loyalty, than others, but who, under that pretext, always have been, and are, incorrigible enemies to the present ancient and laudable government of Church and State." They were, therefore, declared to be incapable of holding any Church benefice.⁹

But the main bone of future contention was an Act passed on 27th May "for the restitution and establishment of the ancient government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops." During his stay in Scotland in 1650, Charles had received a highly unfavourable impression of Presbyterianism from the behaviour of the Covenanting ministers and his treatment at their hands. Their bitter intolerance, and constant insistence on the public avowal of his own sins and the sins of his father, had filled him with a disgust at the whole system, which may or may not have found expression in the remark attributed to him by Burnet, that Presbyterianism was "no religion for a gentleman." Politically, at the same time, Charles and his Scottish ministers, Lauderdale and Middleton, must have regarded Presbyterianism as the chief instrument in the overthrow of the Royal cause under Charles I. Nothing else, therefore, could have been expected than that Episcopacy should be restored. The Act, moreover, was passed by a duly constituted Scottish Parliament, acting under no compulsion. Under this measure Andrew Fairfoul became Archbishop of Glasgow, and James Sharp, who had gone to London as agent for the Presbyterian party, returned to Scotland as Archbishop of St. Andrews.¹⁰

Less trouble might have ensued if the Act could have been allowed to take effect gradually, if the old ministers ordained by the presbyteries had been allowed to die out before new clergy collated by the bishops stepped into their places. But

⁹ *Act. Parl.* viii. 376.

¹⁰ Grub, *Eccles. Hist. Scot.* iii. 195.



GILBERT

*Bishop of
Chancellor*
Born 18 Sept. 1643

BURNET.

*Salisbury, and
of the Garter.*
Died 17 March 1725



this was not the method of the time. Twenty-four years earlier, when the Presbyterian and Covenanting party was in power, prelacy had been abolished, and the bishops themselves deprived of their benefices, at a single stroke, by the General Assembly which met in Glasgow Cathedral. Also, ten years after that proceeding, on the failure of Hamilton's Engagement, large numbers of Royalist ministers were by church judicatories deprived of their office, and by the Act of Classes of the Parliament of 1649 all judges, officers of State, and persons in public trust who had favoured the Engagement were similarly deprived.¹ We have seen also how, still later, in Glasgow itself, Principal Gillespie had insisted on the instant deprivation of half the members of Town Council because their views were not intolerant like his own.²

Strangely enough, it was in Glasgow that, as if by a nemesis the counterstroke now took place. By an Act of 1649 lay "patronage," or appointment of ministers, had been abolished. That Act had now been rescinded, and it was decreed that ministers who held their benefices without having been thus appointed must vacate them, unless they obtained a presentation from the lawful patron and also collation from the bishop of the diocese. While many ministers complied with the law, and duly secured presentation and collation, a large number ignored the edict, and continued to exercise their ministerial offices in defiance of parliamentary authority. This attitude, for reasons which are difficult to make out, was chiefly adopted in the country of the "Westland Whigs," the counties of the south-west. Probably it was for this reason that the Privy Council, which met to enforce the law, held its deliberations in Glasgow. With Middleton presiding it met on 1st October, 1662, in the fore hall of the College, just then newly completed, in High Street. One of its Acts forbade the resisting ministers

¹ Stevenson's *Hist. of Church of Scotland*, 609, 610.

² *Supra*, p. 316.

from exercising any functions of the ministry, declared their churches vacant, prohibited the payment of their stipends, and required them to remove themselves and their families out of their parishes within a month. The resisters afterwards declared that this meeting of the Privy Council was called by the citizens the "drunken Parliament," from the condition of its members ;³ but whether or not this was merely a method of discrediting their political opponents, common even at the present day, is impossible to determine.

The month of grace was afterwards extended, but in the end some three hundred and fifty ministers, refusing to conform to the new law, abandoned their benefices.⁴ Numbers of their people went with them, and almost immediately serious troubles began. Acts were passed by Parliament and Privy Council to compel people to attend their parish churches, to forbid the holding of "conventicles," or unauthorized religious services, and to inflict penalties on all who did not comply with these edicts. Later writers on the side of the Covenant have characterized these Acts as intolerant and tyrannical, but they were identical with the orders of the Covenanters themselves when in power twenty years before, which directed the Searchers or Compurgators to pass into houses and "apprehend absents from the kirk."⁵ Two blacks, however, do not make a white, and to modern eyes all such compulsion must appear oppressive and intolerable, whether it is exercised by Covenanter or by Episcopalian. What followed was not a "religious" persecution, as is often stated, for both sides held the same Christian faith ; but it was a persecution none the less, and was carried on with a relentlessness such as had not been known since the burnings of heretics which preceded the

³ Kirkton, 150 ; Wodrow, i. 283.

⁴ Among the ministers thus turned out were Donald Cargill of the Glasgow Barony and Ralph Rodger and John Carstairs of the "Inner High" congregation at the Cathedral.—*Burgh Records*, iii. 2, note.

⁵ Macgeorge, *Old Glasgow*, p. 184.

Reformation. The use of torture—the agony of the boot and the thumbscrew—alone must for ever place the authorities of that time beyond the pale of apology. The question at issue—whether a man should use the ministrations of a pastor ordained by a presbytery or a pastor ordained by a bishop—may seem a matter of minor importance to-day, but what the Covenanters of the south-western counties found themselves really fighting for was liberty of action and opinion, and the final triumph of their cause at the Revolution of 1689 was a victory for human freedom.

Of the acts of persecution during the next few years Glasgow and its neighbourhood had their share. Sir George Maxwell of Pollok was heavily fined for a conventicle held in Haggs Castle at the instance of his lady, and in the kirkyard of Cathcart and on the north side of Glasgow Cathedral are to be seen inscribed stones commemorating humble individuals who suffered for conscience' sake. But the main stream of the city's life seems to have flowed on little disturbed by the political ferment of the time. As Principal of the University the firebrand Patrick Gillespie was succeeded by Robert Baillie, a Glasgow man, descended from the ancient house of Lamington, whose *Historical Letters and Collections* throw much valuable light on the events of his day.⁶ A few years later, in 1669, a still more distinguished man, Gilbert Burnet, was appointed Professor of Divinity in the College. Burnet was one of the most independent and impartial churchmen, statesmen, and writers of his age. Holding later a high position at court, he deprecated the persecution of the Roman Catholics, found places in England for the dispossessed Scottish clergy, earned the disapproval of all extreme parties, remonstrated with Charles II. for his evil life, took a leading part in the Revolution, and was made Bishop of Salisbury by William II. and III. His *History of My Own Time* is more often quoted than any other history of the period.

⁶ A very full account of Baillie's life is given in Wodrow's *History*, p. 288.

With such men leavening the spirit of the University the unseemly differences between the authorities of town and College came to an end. A chief bone of contention had been the appointment of a "bibliothecar," or librarian, to the College. The appointment lay with the town, but the Council's nominee had been fiercely resisted by Patrick Gillespie. Now, however, the town's presentation of James Bell, son of a Glasgow burgess, was accepted, and peace declared.⁷ On the other hand, the town accepted the nomination of its provost, no longer from the Duke of Lennox or his commissioner at the castle gate, as in recent years, but from the Archbishop as before the overthrow of Episcopacy in 1638. In the absence of John Bell, the burgess thus installed in the provost's chair by Archbishop Fairfoul in 1662, Colin Campbell, was appointed to preside over the Council for a third term.⁸

At the same time the Town Council did not relinquish its rights to the management of the city churches. Previously the congregations had sat on stools and forms mostly brought by themselves; but in 1661 the Council installed pews in the Laigh Kirk, and rent for these was charged for the first time.⁹ The Town Council, further, nominated the ministers to be appointed to the city churches by the archbishop, and paid them their stipends.¹⁰

Glasgow was also, in those years, steadily extending its bounds and improving its amenities. In 1661 an Act of Parliament was secured, annexing "the lands of Gorbals and town of Bridgend" to the city.¹ Under this arrangement the appointment of a special bailie for Gorbals was no longer to be made, and

⁷ *Burgh Records*, ii. 471; iii. 14.

⁸ *Ibid.* 493.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, ii. 474.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 494, 495; iii. 1.

¹ *Act. Parl.* vii. 222; *Burgh Records*, ii. 465. The Act itself did not free the people of the annexed district from continuing to pay excise and other taxes in Lanarkshire. They therefore complained to the Privy Council, and the matter was referred to arbitration, and amicably arranged (*Burgh Records*, ii. 478, note).

the people of the new district were expected to attend the town's churches and the courts of the town's magistrates.² Notwithstanding this, however, a bailie of Gorbals continues to appear in the later records of the Town Council. Further, on 1st January, 1662, the Town Council acquired from William Anderson, for six thousand merks, the lands of Linningshaugh. In order to meet the payment the magistrates proceeded to sell feu-duties and rents of properties in the town to the occupiers of these properties and others who cared to invest, and the town drummer was sent round to advertise the burgesses of the offer.³ This purchase began the New Green of Glasgow, which is still a public park at the present day. The lands of Kinclaith and others were afterwards added, and in 1664, at considerable expense, a bridge was built across the Molendinar, to afford access to the new possession. The town was now buying back the old "common lands" of the bishopric which it had so lightly parted with eighty years before. The Old Green extended along the riverside from the Broomielaw to the Molendinar, and was built over in the following century.

An official who appears in those years for the first time is the town's postman. In June, 1660, the Master of Works was authorized to pay the "post" ten shillings sterling for all past services, and twelve shillings Scots weekly thereafter for carrying the town's letters. Seven months later £42 Scots were advanced to the man for the purchase of "a sufficient horse to serve the town."⁴ In 1663 it was arranged that the postman should have a wage of £3 Scots per week and a penny sterling for each letter carried.⁵

The comfort and convenience of the citizens were also met in other ways. In 1661 the Dean of Guild was recommended to set up leaping-on stones at four different places for the use

² *Burgh Records*, ii. 474; iii. 60, 63.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 480, 483; iii. 22, 30, 33, 39, 58, 59, 64.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 447, 457.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 22.

of horsemen. In the following year bridges were built over the Molendinar at the foot of Saltmarket, to give access to Aiken's Well, and over St. Theneu's Burn, at the foot of the present Mitchell Street, to carry westward the main route to Partick and Dunbarton. The latter was ordered to be "ane handsome litle brige," and the road between it and the West Port at the head of the Stockwellgait was to be "calsayed" for the first time.⁶

Perhaps most significant of all was an erection directed to be made in August, 1662. "For many guid reasons and consideratiounes," the minute of Council runs, "for the moir commodious laidining and landing of boats," the city fathers determined to build "ane litle key" at the Broomielaw.⁷

As a matter of fact, the harbour facilities for the sea-going trade of the city were then receiving serious attention. As mentioned in a previous chapter, the harbour from which Glasgow traders had originally shipped a considerable quantity of their goods had been Irvine on the Ayrshire coast, the traffic being carried on by means of pack-horses over the comparatively level neck of country through which the Eglinton Canal was at a later day designed to be made. But in 1656 Cromwell's commissioner, Tucker, reported that the harbour at Irvine had silted up.⁸ Glasgow then cast eyes on Dunbarton as a convenient harbour. But Dunbarton had always been hostile to the river trade of the bishop's burgh, and whether or not the tradition is true that on this occasion its authorities refused a definite offer from Glasgow on the quaint consideration that "the influx of mariners would raise the price of butter and eggs to the townsmen," the fact remains that Glasgow looked for another site on which to build a harbour of its own. The way to this was fully cleared by an important decision of the Supreme Court of 8th February, 1666, which declared finally

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 475, 487, 489.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 491.

⁸ *Report* (Bannatyne Club).

that Dunbarton had no right whatever to interfere with the free passage of Glasgow's shipping and trade on the Clyde.⁹ At first the thoughts of the city fathers turned to the bay of Inchgreen on the lands of Greenock, belonging to Crawford of Kilbirnie, who had already allowed the burgesses to erect huts and cure herring at the spot, and in 1667 a bargain was struck.¹⁰ Four months later, however, a feu contract was signed for the acquisition of "ane mark land" a little farther up the firth, from the Maxwells, elder and younger, of Newark. The price was 13,000 merks, and four merks annual feu-duty, Glasgow further relieving the Maxwells of "the king's taxatioune effeirand to a mark land."¹ Thereafter the building of New-port Glasgow, with houses, cellars or stores, quay, sea-wall, and other pertinents, was busily proceeded with, and Port-Glasgow, as it is now called, developed into a thriving harbour for the city's sea-borne trade. Ground at the new port was given in leasehold for thirty-eight years to burgesses of the city for the building of houses for their skippers and seamen. The harbour dues were fixed at a rix dollar for each Glasgow ship of over 100 tons, and 30s. Scots for those of less. Dunbarton ships were to be charged the same, and those of all other places double.² The founding of the new harbour on the upper Firth of Clyde entailed a vast amount of additional care and labour on the provost, magistrates, and Council of the parent city, and almost every page of the Council's records, for more than twenty years, contains some note of Port-Glasgow matters to be attended to; but the project was carried out successfully, and the Piraeus of Glasgow only ceased to fulfil its purpose when, in the nineteenth century, the Clyde itself was deepened sufficiently to allow sea-going ships to come up safely and easily to the wharves of the city itself.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, iii. 72.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, ii. 379, 458, 465, 480; iii. 96.

¹ *Burgh Records*, iii. 101.

² *Burgh Records*, iii. 203, 239.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ALEXANDER BURNET'S FIRST ARCHBISHOPRIC

HISTORIANS of the reign of Charles II. in Scotland appear to have taken hardly enough account of the formidable difficulties which then beset the Government. Wodrow in his manse at Eastwood, a few miles to the south of Glasgow, lived and wrote in the midst of the district most deeply obsessed by the traditions and spirit of the Covenanters. The collection of their tales, which he gathered from popular sources, had a tendency to assume somewhat undue importance to his mind, and to obscure the wider issues which had to be dealt with by the statesmen of that time. Wodrow was closely followed by Macaulay, who suffered further from his proclivity to make a picturesque and telling story at any cost, and to whom therefore the highly-coloured popular legends of "Bluidy Claverhouse" and the "Christian carrier" offered more tempting material than any sober and balanced account of the general Scottish statecraft of the period, which might have been derived from official documents like the Register of the Privy Council. In this way, even to the present hour, the popular idea of the time of Charles II. in Scotland is almost wholly a picture of the sufferings of a persecuted peasantry in the south-western corner of the country, and offers no hint of difficult political problems of which these formed only a part.

There was, to begin with, the Navigation Act of 1660, which was being passed by the English Parliament when Charles once more set foot in the country. That Act struck a serious

blow at the commerce and prosperity of Scotland. It ordained that no goods could be imported into or exported from England or any English colony except in English vessels or vessels of the place from which the goods were brought. Thus the ships of Scotland, no less than the ships of Holland and France, were prohibited from taking any part in the English colonial and foreign trade.¹ It was this Act which, at a later day, wrought the ruin of the Darien Expedition, with the loss of half the capital of Scotland. Meanwhile the Scottish Parliament retaliated with a similar Act providing that foreign goods could only be imported into Scotland in Scottish vessels, or in vessels of the kingdom in which the goods were produced.² Trusting to this Act, the complaint ran, Glasgow merchants "hes gone about to expend the most parte of their fortunes for building of ships and advancing of trades," ten or twelve new vessels being put upon the water. But notwithstanding the Act certain foreigners, and especially Dutchmen, continued to import goods in Dutch vessels to the Clyde and other ports, and the Glasgow merchants were "lyk to be ruined." Two years later, accordingly, Parliament ratified its former Act, and directed the king's admiral to put it in force.³

Though they objected to the Dutch shipping, the shrewd Glasgow merchants were willing enough to avail themselves of Dutch skill in other ways. Thus in 1661 the Glasgow Fishing Company petitioned the Privy Council, and was allowed to take a Hollander into partnership in order to get the benefit of his knowledge of the Dutch method of curing fish.⁴ The Town Council of Glasgow itself also in 1663 purchased in Holland a peal of bells for the steeple of the Merchants' House which was then just being finished in the "Brigate."⁵

As a matter of fact, Holland was then Scotland's best

¹ *Act. Parl.* 12, ch. ii. ch. 18.

² *Act. Parl.* 1661, ch. 277.

³ *Act. Parl.* 1663, ch. 8, vii. p. 454.

⁴ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* 1st Oct. 1661.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, iii. 11.

customer, and when, in consequence of Navigation Acts and other friction, war with that country was declared in 1664, the consequences were disastrous to the northern kingdom. The hardship was increased when 500 Scottish seamen were ordered to be impressed for the Royal Navy. Of these Glasgow was called upon to furnish ten.⁶

In at least one episode of the war Glasgow sailors were to play their part with spirit. A Glasgow vessel laden with sack, of which the provost, John Anderson, was part owner, was making its way to the Clyde, when it was attacked by a Dutch craft. Twelve Dutchmen boarded the vessel and ordered the crew below deck. The Scottish master, however, had no intention of giving up his ship without a struggle. He and his men made a counter attack on the assailants, and, after a great conflict, not only overcame the attackers, but captured the Dutch vessel itself and carried it in triumph into Greenock.⁷ About the same time, in February 1667, a Glasgow merchant vessel of 300 tons carrying home a cargo of Spanish wines, was captured by a Dutch man-of-war. When, however, the Dutchman had set off in pursuit of another prize the Glasgow skipper brought up the larger part of his crew, whom he had concealed below, re-took his ship, and brought her triumphantly into Glasgow with twenty-two prisoners—the Dutch attacking party—on board.⁸

It can easily be understood that, amid the anxieties and risks of this foreign war, the king and the Privy Council which carried on the government in Scotland were peculiarly sensitive to signs of disaffection within the country, such as were shown by the implacable faction of Covenanters in the south-western counties. Charles could not forget that it was these same people who, a generation previously, had given the first signal for the movement which brought about the overthrow and

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 15th Sept. 1664.

⁷ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* 15th Mar. 1667.

⁸ *London Gazette*, 18th Feb. 1667.

death of his father ; and, knowing personally the dour nature of the people, he cannot have been without a certain nervous apprehension that history might repeat itself. It was perhaps in view of such possibilities, and in order to forestall and prevent any movement of this kind that, on the death of Archbishop Fairfoul, the king appointed Alexander Burnet to the See of Glasgow.

Burnet was a member of a well-known family in the south of Scotland, and is said to have fled to England, to begin with, to escape signing the Covenant. He took orders in the English Church, and to the last remained a member of that communion. To avoid the Puritan domination in turn he seems to have fled to the continent, and at the Restoration was acting as chaplain to his relative, Lord Rutherford, then commanding at Dunkirk. In 1663 he was made Bishop of Aberdeen, and in January of the following year was promoted to the archiepiscopal See of Glasgow. His views of church government were of an advanced Laudian type ; he hated Dissent, and at his first diocesan meeting he expelled some of the Presbyterian ministers whom Fairfoul had suffered to remain. His high-handed methods and ideas of clerical supremacy were still further shown by his treatment of the Glasgow magistracy. On learning the date of his consecration the Town Council courteously took considerable trouble and expense to send a deputation to escort him from Edinburgh to St. Andrews, and thence back to Edinburgh again and to Glasgow.⁹ But at the next election of magistrates, without waiting for the usual leet to be submitted to him, he haughtily sent a messenger with the intimation that he desired a certain William Anderson to be made provost. On the council pointing out that William Anderson was not even one of their number, and asking that the Archbishop should reconsider his choice and comply with precedent, he peremptorily refused,

⁹ *Burgh Records*, iii. 27.

and the Town Council had perforce to accept the rebuff and install his nominee.¹⁰

A little later Burnet again put a pistol to the heads of the magistrates and council. He sent the council a letter stating that, after search, he found that several persons made a practice of absenting themselves from public worship. They flattered themselves, he declared, with hope of impunity, though he did not know whence their confidence sprang. He therefore thought it his duty to advertise the council that he intended, if that body did not forthwith exact the fines of the absentees, to employ the officers of His Majesty's militia, both to note the persons who withdrew from the ordinances, and to exact the penalties imposed by law. This, he pointed out, would not only be a punishment to the offenders, but a dishonour and loss to the town. The Town Council was much perturbed by this letter, and had it several times read, but after much deliberation concluded that it was better that they themselves should uplift the fines than have this done under their eyes by the military. They therefore, perforce, agreed to the archbishop's demand.¹

A churchman of this type was not likely to smooth the way to reconciliation with the disaffected elements in the West of Scotland, themselves as implacable as himself, and when in April, 1664, Burnet was made a privy councillor by the king the Covenanters could look for nothing else than to feel the weight of a heavy hand. From the first he seems to have exerted a strong influence on the Council's deliberations, and within a year he was appointed preses for the time in the absence of Archbishop Sharp. It was not only the Covenanters who were subjected to severity. The Quakers and the Roman Catholics were both at that time also suspected of disaffection, and Burnet was appointed one of the commissioners to deal with them.²

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, iii. 40.

¹ *Burgh Records*, iii. 71.

² *Priv. Coun. Reg.* 24th Nov. 1664. *Ibid.* 30th July, 1667.

The Privy Council had also to deal with labour troubles, which bore a curious likeness to labour troubles of the twentieth century. A complaint in particular was brought up by the masters of the coal pits in the Glasgow Barony, who declared that their enterprise was obstructed and made to result in heavy loss by the action of the miners, who would only work four days in each week, and spent all their remaining time, and all their wages, in drinking. To "rectify these enormities" a commission was appointed consisting of the provost of Glasgow and others.³

Still another menace which harassed the rulers of the country just then was the outbreak of the Great Plague of London. The fearful ravages of that pestilence in the English capital in 1665 have been vividly described by Daniel Defoe and other more authentic writers. In Scotland, however, the Privy Council took prompt and effective measures. In Glasgow, for instance, the master of works was ordered with diligence to repair the city gates, and by tuck of drum the town's folk were ordered to shut all entries by their closes and yards under pain of a hundred pound fine and further personal punishment.⁴ Thanks to the efficient measures thus adopted not a single case of pestilence appeared in Scotland.

Threatened with these various dangers—war on the high seas and labour troubles and pestilence at home—the Privy Council must naturally have been highly sensitive to the elements of disaffection smouldering in the south-western counties. That it was fully apprehensive of the danger is shown by several facts. On 22nd April, 1665, the inhabitants of Glasgow were ordered to deliver up all arms at the tolbooth on pain of being considered disaffected, and punished accordingly.⁵ On 8th September, 1666, an order was issued that all must take the Declaration, avowing the swearing of the Cove-

³ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* 4th Sept. 1662.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, iii. 61.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, iii. 53.

nant and the taking of arms against the king to be unlawful, and that sheriffs and magistrates should send in lists of all who subscribed and all who refused.⁶ On 17th November, 1666, the Privy Council ordered a garrison to be kept at Glasgow for the suppression of possible risings in the West.

Two days after the issue of this last order the explosion took place. A bailie of Dumfries rode hot-foot into Edinburgh with the news that a body of insurgents had taken arms, invaded Dumfries, and captured Sir James Turner, the military commander in the district.⁷

Great excitement was created by the news, and the extent of the danger apprehended may be judged by the precautions instantly taken. General Dalziel was ordered at once to Glasgow, to take such measures as he could on the spot. The ferries of the Forth were secured; all available horses were commandeered for military purposes; and active measures were taken to make Edinburgh safe.

In his interesting monograph on "The Pentland Rising," as the insurrection came to be called, Professor Sanford Terry conveys the impression of an undisciplined and ill-armed multitude coming together in haphazard fashion, and making its way without much plan or order, through November rain and snow, by Lanark and Bathgate to the capital. But there were mysterious influences obvious behind the movement, providing it with commanders and arms, and when, on 28th November, Dalziel finally came up with the insurgents at Rullion Green in the Pentlands, a few miles south of Edinburgh, they made military dispositions, and displayed a knowledge of tactics and power of resistance that were by no means casual. All that was needed to make the Pentland Rising a widespread and

⁶ *Priv. Coun. Reg.*

⁷ The news reached Glasgow two days before it was known in Edinburgh. On 17th November the Town Council minute mentions the report of "som rying in the west, contrare authoritie," and it was resolved that the town's folk be put "in ane gude postour for defence."

really formidable rebellion against the Government of Charles II. was the merest flicker of success in an opening engagement. To this grave danger the Privy Council was thoroughly awake, and the severe measures it adopted to repress the insurrection and discourage any possibilities of further rebellion were no more than what the safety of the state demanded. Acting on a letter from Charles himself the Privy Council ordered that the oath of allegiance should be taken by all prominent persons in the disaffected districts, that all arms should be given up, and that a force of militia should be organized.⁸ Already in 1663, in order to secure the country against just such outbreaks, the Scottish Parliament had offered to organize a militia of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse.⁹ It was not till 6th May, 1668, that a letter was received from Charles ordering the effective raising of this force, and steps were taken to carry out the command. These orders brought to light certain individuals in the disaffected districts who refused respectively to raise men or to serve in the new militia. This refusal was regarded as an evidence of disloyalty, and an Act was passed inflicting fines on such persons.¹⁰

For the measures of repression which followed the Pentland Rising Archbishop Burnet is said to have been a strong and constant advocate. These measures had both a political and an ecclesiastical purpose. The enemies of the Church had shown themselves to be also the enemies of the Government, and in such precarious times must be deprived of all means and opportunity of concerting trouble. Accordingly on 7th May, 1668, the Privy Council ordered the apprehension of all holders of conventicles. On 18th February, 1669, it appointed a committee to deal with absentees from church. And on 4th March of the same year it prohibited the baptism of children by any other than parish ministers. Another order which

⁸ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* 21st Mar. 1667.

⁹ *Act. Parl.* vii. 480.

¹⁰ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* 8th Oct. 1668.

implied considerable hardship was issued a month later, on 8th April. The order required all the lairds in the disaffected districts to become personally liable and give bonds for the good behaviour of their families, tenants, and servants. This was no more than the adoption of a policy which had been used again and again for the keeping of order among the turbulent tribesmen of the north. No longer previously than December, 1664, the Privy Council had adopted "the good and auncient custome of charging the landlords and cheiftains of clans to find caution yearly in the Books of Council" for the good behaviour of their people.

These orders were prosecuted with great rigour in the disaffected districts, and enforced with tortures, fines, and executions, for which Burnet was largely responsible.¹ On many a lonely hillside and purple moor, where "the peesweeps and whaups are calling," are to be seen the memorials of men who suffered the last penalty rather than deny the oath of their fathers, and profess loyalty to an episcopalian king.

Reports of these severities reached London, along with proofs of their ineffectiveness in producing the results desired. It was accordingly resolved to try a policy of conciliation. In June 1669 there was issued from Whitehall an "Indulgence," signed by the king and countersigned by Lauderdale, allowing "outed" ministers who had lived peaceably and orderly to return to their parish churches and exercise the functions of the ministry. To meet an objection of certain of the Episcopal party that this Indulgence was illegal, Parliament in November passed an "Act of Supremacy" which declared the external government of the Church to be a right of the Crown. To carry this new policy into action, Lauderdale, who as Secretary of State had hitherto remained in London, was himself appointed Royal Commissioner on 4th September, 1669, and came down to Scotland. Here he found

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, 1666-7, 244, 280, 336.

the chief obstacle to the new policy to be Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow, who stood entrenched behind his ecclesiastical powers. The rivalry, however, was not long in being brought to a head and disposed of. In the same month in which Lauderdale assumed control the Privy Council was informed that the Synod of Glasgow, over which Burnet had presided, had adopted a "Remonstrance" which disputed the royal supremacy in the affairs of the Church, and condemned the Indulgence on the ground that it replaced in their charges persons under ecclesiastical censure.² Burnet was ordered to appear at the bar of the Privy Council, with all the minutes, votes, and acts passed by his synod. This he did on 14th October. The paper, for which he acknowledged responsibility, was then summarily condemned "as tending towards the depraving of his majesty's law," and the lieges were forbidden to possess a copy. Knowing whom he had to deal with, Burnet was wise enough to bow to the inevitable. He resigned the archbishopric.³

Meanwhile the more local affairs of Glasgow appear to have been competently carried on by the Town Council. A state burden which had now become permanent on the citizens was that of the Excise. Previous to the troubles of Charles I.'s time the extraordinary expenses of government were met by special levies on the Church, the nobles, and the burghs. In 1644, however, to meet the cost of the Scottish armies in England and Ireland, the Scottish Parliament proceeded to raise money by means of duties on certain articles. At first the tax was to be only for one year, but it was afterwards continued. In 1661 its purpose was to furnish the king with a revenue of £40,000 a year for the maintenance of his forces and for the expenses of government. Of this sum Glasgow was called upon to furnish £1744 4s. sterling, reduced in 1663

² Wodrow's *Hist.* ii. 143.

³ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* 6th Jan. 1670.

to £1076 4s.⁴ There are various entries in the Town Council records of the city accounting for these levies to Colonel, afterwards Sir James Turner, the king's officer, who was captured at Dumfries by the insurgents of the Pentland Rising.⁵ Sir James Turner afterwards became tenant of the "baronial hall" of Gorbals, and, when he died there, left his library to Glasgow University. He is believed to have been the original of that stout soldier of fortune, Dugald Dalgetty, in Sir Walter Scott's *Legend of Montrose*.

Another serious burden to the town at that time was the number of beggars and women of doubtful character frequenting the burgh. Again and again committees were appointed to comb the several districts and expel such persons, while the inhabitants were expressly forbidden to afford them lodging. By way of making the order effective it was declared that the persons against whom the enactment was made were free to remove without payment of rent.⁶ The city had its own legitimate poor to support, and lepers were still being sent to the hospital at the far end of the bridge.⁷

Another curious call upon the public charity at the time was the ransom of captives taken and kept in slavery by the Turks. Thus in August, 1664, the town paid a thousand merks for the liberation of John Dennistoun, son of a late merchant burghess of Glasgow. Of this amount the Town Council was shrewd enough to pay only half in advance, and the other half upon assurance that Dennistoun had been given his freedom.⁸

Notwithstanding these demands the city on 3rd September, 1667, concluded the purchase from the laird of Silvertounhills of the lands of Provan for the sum of 106,000 merks, the money being made payable to the laird's creditors. Shortly afterwards

⁴ *Act. Parl.* 1644, ch. 137; 1645, ch. 45; 1647, ch. 252; 1661, 128; 1662, ch. 74; 1663, ch. 28. *Burgh Records*, 17th Jan. 1663.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, ii. 496; iii. 1.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, iii. 7, 9, 11, 12.

⁷ *Ibid.* Dec. 1662.

⁸ *Ibid.* iii. 35.

the council appointed a Bailie of Provan, an appointment which continues an honourable office in the city to the present day.⁹

Further evidence of the shrewdness of the city fathers, and also, it may be feared, of the venality of the law courts of the period, is to be gathered from entries in the burgh records of various gifts of sack and half-barrels of herrings sent to "friends" in power in Edinburgh. At that date, in 1665, the city had several cases pending against the authorities of Dunbarton, and it is somewhat interesting to note that these cases were decided in Glasgow's favour.¹⁰

In those pleas Dunbarton claimed the right to harbour dues in the River Clyde from the mouth of the Kelvin to the head of Loch Long, and the immediate question at issue was the right to levy dues at Glasgow's new "roads and ports of Potterige, Inschgreen, and Newark," otherwise Port-Glasgow. Dunbarton cited its charters granted by Alexander II. in the year 1220 and by James VI. in 1609, while Glasgow cited its charters by William the Lion to Bishop Jocelyn in the twelfth century, by Alexander II. in 1211, a charter by King Robert the Bruce, and the fact that Glasgow was an episcopal see "seven or eight hundred years before Dunbarton was founded." After full trial the court declared that Dunbarton's claim had been contraverted, and that Glasgow must be immune from all dues and interruptions of river traffic by that burgh.¹

At the same time, within its own jurisdiction, the Town Council took vigorous measures to make sure that no interference with its own justiciary powers took place. In May, 1665, a case of this kind was dealt with. Two Glasgow tanners, John Liston and John Wood, had bought nine hundred salt hides for nine thousand merks from James Boyle, a merchant in the city. Apparently the hides were to be of a certain weight. This weight, the purchasers held, was to be, according to use and wont, that shown at the common tron or weighing place

⁹ *Burgh Records*, iii. 95, 99.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* iii. 66, 68.

¹ *Ibid.* iii. 72.

of the burgh. The seller, on the other hand, alleged that the hides were to be delivered by the weight shown at his own scales. The purchasers refused to take delivery on these conditions, and the seller applied to the Dean of Guild, one Frederick Hamilton, who was his own personal friend and business partner, if not in this transaction, at anyrate in others. Hamilton thereupon called Liston and Wood before him, and, without proof and without consulting any of the other magistrates, arbitrarily, "at his awine hand," committed the two tanners to prison. The two procured release on bail, but were so beset in their houses, day and night, by the officers of the Dean of Guild that they were forced to leave the town. They then appealed to the Privy Council, which, having considered the petition, remitted the matter to be tried by the Town Council. The trial duly took place before the provost and bailies, who, "after matur advyce and deliberatioune," decided that the Dean of Guild had abused his office, first in holding a court without a quorum of his brethren, and secondly in imprisoning Liston without concurrence of the magistrates. It was therefore decided, by a majority of votes, that Hamilton should be suspended from office as Dean of Guild during the pleasure of the council. Six days later the council elected one of the bailies to fill the post.² Two years later, on a report that the citizens were forsaking the town's courts for the Commissary Court, because of the remissness of the town's officers in executing decreets the Town Council ordered that the officers must make execution within forty days, either by obtaining payment, by poinding of goods, or by imprisonment.³

² *Burgh Records*, iii. 55, 58.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 94.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE POLICY OF CONCILIATION

IN pursuance of the policy of conciliating the extremists of the Presbyterian party, King Charles in 1669 appointed Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, to the vacant archbishopric of Glasgow. Perhaps the most sincerely Christian of all the Scottish clergy of his time, Leighton had a record which might have convinced the most irreconcilable that the Government desired to meet them at least halfway. The scion of a family which possessed the estate of Ulyshaven, near Montrose, he was the son of a man who had suffered grievously under the persecution of the Star Chamber in the early days of Charles I. His father, Alexander Leighton, was a doctor of medicine, professor of moral philosophy at Edinburgh, and sometime minister in London. For a virulent tract, *Sion's Plea against the Prelacie*, he was condemned in 1630 to have his nostrils slit, his ears cut off, and his face branded, to be twice scourged and pilloried, to pay a fine of £10,000, and to be imprisoned for life in the Fleet.¹ He was released, however, by the Long Parliament in 1640, and became Keeper of Lambeth House in 1642. When these cruelties were perpetrated upon his father, the future Archbishop of Glasgow was a young man of nineteen. Of a saintly disposition from his youth, he spent some of his most impressionable years in France, where he was deeply influenced by the piety of the Jansenists. In 1641 he was inducted to the parish of Newbattle, and soon became famous for the

¹ *Glasghu Facies*, i. 196; Gibson, *Hist. Glasgow*, 67.

writing and speaking of pure and beautiful English. He approved heartily of the National Covenant of 1638, but disapproved both of the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 and of the intolerant way in which it was forced upon the people. When ordered, with the other Scottish clergy, to censure the Engagement for the release of Charles I., he handed the order to his precentor to read. In 1653 he was a member of the General Assembly which was dispersed by Cromwell's soldiers, and in the same year he was on the point of resigning his charge, on account of the tyranny of the kirkmen, when he was appointed Professor of Divinity and Principal of Edinburgh University. On the restoration of episcopacy in 1661 he accepted the new order of things. Religion, he declared, did not consist in external matters, either of government or worship. Accordingly, along with Archbishop Sharp and Archbishop Fairfoul, he was ordained in the episcopal communion, and, having been persuaded by the king to accept a bishopric, was consecrated in Westminster Abbey and appointed Bishop of Dunblane. In the direction of that smallest of the Scottish bishoprics he urged upon his clergy the exercise of reverence in public worship, the preaching of plain and useful sermons, and the cultivation of holiness in heart and life. In political affairs he urged the fullest toleration, even for Roman Catholics, Quakers, and Baptists, and so deeply did he disapprove of the repressive measures used against the Covenanters that, in 1665, he went to London, and handed his resignation to the king. Charles, however, would not accept the resignation of a man he had such good reason to esteem, and, moved by the strength and manner of the protest, promised to institute a milder policy. The Pentland Rising of the following year, with its serious threat to the peace of the country, interfered with the fulfilment of this promise ; but in 1669, when conciliation again seemed practicable, and Archbishop Burnet had been dismissed,

Leighton, as the chief advocate of the policy, was appointed to the vacant archbishopric of Glasgow.

In his new position, armed with increased authority, Leighton proceeded to do his best for compromise between the warring factions of churchmen and ministers in his diocese and in Scotland. And there can be no doubt that had there been more of the spirit of Christianity in the country, and less clerical arrogance and intolerance, the serious troubles and bloodshed which were to follow might have been altogether avoided. As it was, on the strength of the Indulgence, of which Leighton was supposed to have been the author, some forty of the outed ministers were replaced in their parishes. These were the men of moderate views, who set the teaching of their flocks and the interests of religion above mere questions of church government. But the extremists dubbed them "King's curates," and accused them of a sordid desire to enjoy the loaves and fishes. In many cases the houses of the conforming ministers were broken into, the ministers and their wives dragged from bed and ill-treated, and their goods destroyed and stolen.²

Leighton bent his whole endeavour to bring about a settlement by reasonable compromise. The spirit in which he approached his task is well illustrated by his treatment of the Town Council of Glasgow. In the autumn of 1670, as Leighton had not yet been invested, the king himself sent a letter to the magistrates commanding them to reappoint to the office of provost William Anderson, the existing holder of the post, and in 1671 another royal command to the same effect, signed by Lauderdale, was received and complied with.³ No reason is given for the latter exercise of royal authority, but probably the Government desired to be absolutely certain that such an important office in the disaffected west country should be in the hands of a man whose loyalty was unquestioned. When

² Wedrow, *Hist.* ii. 146, 159.

³ *Burgh Records*, iii. 143, 156.

the Town Council met, however, on 1st October, 1672, for the election of magistrates, a letter was delivered to them from Archbishop Leighton at the castle, desiring, "for certaine considerations moving him therto," to know whom the Town Council and burgesses, or the majority of them, wished to be appointed for the coming year. In the upshot William Anderson, the existing provost, was nominated by the Council and duly appointed by the archbishop, who also appointed as bailies the two persons nominated by the Merchants and one nominated by the Trades.⁴

The spirit in which he approached the malcontents in the matter of church government was equally irreproachable. With the king's approval he drew up proposals for an accommodation in the most liberal terms. Nothing more liberal, in fact, could well have been suggested. The proposals amounted to a return to the system set up after the Reformation by Knox himself. The only difference was that the holder of the supervisory office, who was known in Knox's church as a superintendent, was, under the arrangement proposed by Leighton, to be called a bishop. No oath of canonical obedience was to be required from the clergy, and the whole government of the kirk was to be placed in the hands of the synods and presbyteries, with the bishops acting merely as permanent moderators.⁵ At the same time the Indulgence was revised and enlarged and provision was made for the maintenance of outed ministers who accepted the Indulgence, but whose places had meanwhile been filled.⁶ In support of these proposals Leighton sent a number of the most eloquent and popular preachers through the disaffected western district, and himself made a circuit of the archdiocese, endeavouring to gain over the discontented folk by personal appeal and Christian gentleness. His efforts, however, came to nothing. Gilbert Burnet, who was one of the preachers sent

⁴ *Burgh Records*, iii. 162-4.

⁵ Wodrow, ii. 181.

⁶ Burton, vii. 178, 179.

round, describes how, as soon as they were gone, a set of "hot preachers" went about declaring that the devil was never so formidable as when he appeared as an angel of light.⁷

The leading ministers were summoned to a conference at Edinburgh, and for five months the interviews and efforts for peace went on, but all without effect. Leighton's advances and concessions were met merely with suspicion and abuse. One Stirling, a minister at Paisley, declared, "There is none of them all hath with a kiss so betrayed the cause and smitten religion under the fifth rib," then, referring to the bishops in general, proceeded, "And therefore I shall rake no more into this unpleasant dunghill of the vilest vices which they and their brethren in iniquity (whom, not naming here, doth not except from their part of the charge of ambition, pride, sensuality, idleness, covetousness, oppression, persecution, dissimulation, perjury, treachery, and hatred of godliness and good men) have heaped together in their own persons."⁸

At the end of the five months of conferences and debates it became clear that the extremists would be content with nothing but the placing of absolute domination in their hands, and Leighton was forced to give up his attempt. "You have thought fit," he said, "to reject our overtures, without assigning any reason for the rejection, and without suggesting any healing measures in the room of ours. The continuance of the divisions, through which religion languishes, must consequently lie at your door. Before God and man I wash my hands of whatever evils may result from the rupture of this treaty. I have done my utmost to repair the temple of the Lord, and my sorrow will not be embittered by compunction should a flood of miseries hereafter rush in through the gap you have refused to assist me in closing."⁹

⁷ Burnet's *Hist.* i. 535.

⁸ Naphtali, etc., postscript, 341-2, quoted in Stephen's *Church of Scotland*, ii. 645.

⁹ Pearson's *Life of Leighton*, xci.

It was in January, 1671, that Leighton's efforts to reconcile the extremists of the west country thus came to an unhappy end. Almost immediately another factor came into play. The war with the Dutch, which had been ended by the Treaty of Breda in 1667, again broke out. It at once becomes evident from the proceedings of the Privy Council that the Government feared collusion between the disaffected folk of the west and the enemy. The Lords of the Privy Council seem to have felt that they were sitting upon a powder magazine which at any moment might explode beneath them. Already in 1666 they had had the lesson of the Pentland Rising, fomented by the preaching of the conventiclers, whose career had only been stopped at the gates of Edinburgh itself. And no longer past than November, 1670, an incident had occurred which shook the reliance of the king's ministers upon the loyalty even of their own soldiers. News apparently reached the capital that the garrison at Glasgow had mutinied on the pretext that their pay was in arrears. At this news Colonel Borthwick's company, quartered in the Canongate, seized its colours and a quantity of ammunition, took an oath to stand by each other, and set out for the west to join the mutineers. The seriousness with which the Privy Council regarded the outbreak is shown by the vigour of the measures taken to meet it. The gates of Edinburgh were shut, the militia companies were called out, and orders were sent to the Duke of Hamilton at Hamilton and the Earl of Linlithgow at Stirling to raise forces, march on Glasgow, and intercept the mutineers. At the same time the magistrates of Glasgow were instructed to pay the soldiers in the city their arrears of pay.¹⁰ As a result of their prompt and energetic measures the rebellion was nipped in the bud. The Glasgow magistrates at once paid the soldiers their arrears, amounting to £600 sterling,¹ and any chance of outbreak was

¹⁰ *Privy Council Register* under date.

¹ *Burgh Records*, iii. 147.

stopped by the arrival of Lord Linlithgow in the city.² Then, on hearing that all was quiet in the west, the Edinburgh company returned to its quarters, and, after negotiations, laid down its arms in the Abbey Close.

After two occurrences of this kind the Government was bound to take all measures possible for the suppression of seditious oratory and armed gatherings of disaffected persons. The fact that the weapons carried by the conventiclers were mostly imported from Holland was itself a disquieting circumstance. Many of the disaffected, indeed, had gone to live in Holland. Among these was George Porterfield, the late provost of Glasgow, and John Spreull, the late town clerk, and the suspicion that a treasonous correspondence was carried on with these persons is shown by the fact that the Privy Council intercepted and preserved some of the letters addressed to them. The terms of these letters would certainly be open to a treasonous interpretation in any court of law at the present day.³

The fear that the conventicles were political rather than religious gatherings is shown by an order of the Privy Council to the Archbishop and the Provost of Glasgow on 3rd June, 1669, regarding a conventicle held in the city. The order instructs them "to take trial what persons were present at the said conventicle, what qualities and fortunes they are of, and how they are affected to the present Government."⁴ The Privy Council records speak of conventicles as meetings held "under the pretence of the exercise of religion," and term them "the seminaries of rebellion."⁵ A specimen of the eloquence used on these occasions is afforded by a letter of John Carstairs, one of the ministers, which was passed from hand to hand with much acceptance at the time. "It seems," concluded this letter, "it is coming to a pitched battle between Michael and his angels, and the dragon and his angels there. O, angels of

² *Ibid.* iii. 151.

³ *Privy Council Register*, iii. 643.

⁴ *Privy Council Register* under date.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 626.

Michael, fight, stand fast, quit yourselves like men, under the colours and conduct of such a captain-general, and so noble and renowned a quarrel, wherein and in whom it were better (if possible) to be ruined than to reign with his enemies, if all Caesars." ⁶

In view of the dangers of the situation, and in order to counter them at first hand, Lauderdale came down to Scotland in 1672, and proceeded to deal with matters in a firmer way. The *Privy Council Register* from the time of his arrival becomes full of orders against conventicles. In particular, an order was sent to the Glasgow magistrates "in view of divers conventicles having been held within the burgh and barony, and that some outed ministers resident there do not attend public ordinances—to put the late Acts of Parliament and Council against conventicles into execution, to call the accused persons before them, and fine and otherwise punish them." ⁷ People were not forbidden to hold worship in their own families, and to include their guests.⁸ The injunctions were directed against the gathering of disaffected folk in larger numbers, "upon pretext of worship," against the performance of baptisms and marriages by unauthorized persons, and against the offering of affronts and injuries to loyal and peaceable ministers, and forcing them by threats and ill-usage to leave their churches.⁹ The concessions offered by Leighton had been taken by the extremists for signs of weakening on the part of Government, and the number of armed conventicles had increased.¹⁰ The measures adopted to vindicate authority had now therefore to be made correspondingly severe.

In these circumstances, disappointed by the failure of his own generous attempts at conciliation, and reluctant to be a

⁶ Wodrow, *Hist.* ii. 154, note.

⁷ *Privy Council Register*, 22nd Feb. 1672.

⁸ *Ibid.* iii. p. 30.

⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 157.

¹⁰ At the very time when Leighton was making his offers of accommodation three great armed conventicles were held for the purpose of intimidating the Government. Stephen's *Church of Scotland*, ii. 637.

party to the acts of repression adopted by the Government, Leighton resigned his archbishopric. Acceptance of the resignation was delayed by the king in the hope that Leighton would change his mind, and on information reaching Glasgow that the archbishop intended to retire an incident occurred which shows the esteem in which he was held by the people of his diocese. A deputation from the merchant rank waited upon the Town Council, to represent how through his Christian carriage and the moderation and discretion of his rule the whole city had lived peaceably and quietly under his administration, and to urge that representations should be made to the Government for his retention in office.¹ The resignation, however, became effectual about the end of 1673, and Alexander Burnet, who had previously filled the post, was restored to the archbishopric.²

That Leighton's relations with Glasgow were of the most cordial description is shown by the fact that on 15th March, 1573, he lent the Town Council the sum of £400 sterling, "to bear interest only from the following Whitsunday."³ During the next ten years he lived in retirement in Sussex, and it must have been with grief that he learned there of events in Scotland like the murder of Archbishop Sharp and the battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge in 1679. In 1684 the king wrote to him that he was resolved to try once more what clemency would effect, and asked him to go north and do what he could to further this policy. But on proceeding to London for an interview on the subject, he was seized with pleurisy and died next day at an inn. Among his benefactions he founded bursaries at the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, bequeathed a sum to St. Nicholas' Hospital in the latter city, and left his library of over fifteen hundred volumes to the clergy of Dunblane, in whose keeping it may still be seen.⁴

Among the local events at Glasgow itself during Leighton's

¹ *Burgh Records*, iii. 167.

² Butler's *Life of Leighton*, pp. 500-1.

³ *Burgh Records*.

⁴ *Ibid.* 25th Aug. 1677.

years of office were several of more than temporary interest. On an October morning in 1670 the Blackfriars Kirk in High Street was struck by a thunderbolt and destroyed.⁵ Five years previously, on 4th March, 1665, it was reported to the Town Council that Glasgow Bridge, then a structure over three centuries old, had been damaged by frost. Two years later it was reported that the south end was decayed. It was not, however, till two years later still, in 1669, that orders were given for its repair, and in consequence of the long delay the south arch appears to have collapsed. In July, 1671, the "south bow" was ordered to be taken down; in October there was a purchase of timber for the purposes of repair; in November the provost went to London to secure a contribution to the work from the Government, and in December an agreement was made with a mason to build a gate at the south end of the bridge.⁶

At the same period also two cases occurred in which the traders of Glasgow found themselves aggrieved by the system of monopolies granted by the Crown, which were a mischievous custom of the time. In 1671 the Privy Council received a protest from Robert Sanders, stationer and bookseller in Glasgow, and several of the same trade in Edinburgh, against Andrew Anderson, a printer in Edinburgh, who had procured a monopoly of book production from the king. Anderson, with certain friends, had come to Glasgow, and by threats and promises had induced Sanders's employees to desert their work. Sanders urged that the monopoly of King's Printer should apply only to the printing of Acts of Parliament and official documents. After hearing the parties the Privy Council took somewhat this view. Anderson got a monopoly of printing the Confession of Faith, the Catechism, and such books of divinity and school books as were used or read by public authority; but Sanders was allowed to complete the printing and issue of a

⁵ M'Ure, ed. 1830, p. 50; Law's *Memorials*, p. 53.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, iii. under dates.

New Testament in black letter which he had then in hand. Anderson was further ordered to restore the journeymen and apprentices he had carried off from Sanders's printing office.⁷

Another grievance was a gift which had been made by the king to Sir John Watson, of 3s. 6d. on every pound of tobacco imported. The day of the great Glasgow Tobacco Lords had not yet come, but the tobacco trade of the city was evidently already important enough to enlist the attention of the Town Council, and accordingly an agent was sent to Edinburgh to prevent if possible the king's gift from passing the Seals and becoming effective.⁸

Still another intromission of the Privy Council with the mercantile affairs of Glasgow was an order to two Glasgow merchants, Patrick Gemmell and John Walkinshaw. The Fishing Company—the national corporation already described in these pages,⁹ probably revived to compete with the Dutch, then our enemies—wished to send a cargo of herring to Danzig, and the two Glasgow merchants had refused to charter their ship, the *Dolphin*, for the purpose. Their reason is not stated, but most probably it was the remuneration offered. The Privy Council in any case took the part of the Fishing Company, and ordered the shipowners to carry the cargo.¹⁰ The monopoly which had been granted to the Fishing Company was indeed found to be ruinous to an important Glasgow trade and a serious obstacle to development, and in July, 1677, a deputation was sent to Edinburgh to urge the Duke of Lauderdale to put some restriction on the powers and exactions of the royal corporation, and secure some liberty to the burgesses to carry on their business of salting herring.¹

⁷ *Privy Council Register*, 1671, p. 424. ⁸ *Burgh Records*, iii. 3rd Jan. 1672.

⁹ *Supra*, page 206. To this company Charles II. himself subscribed £5000, and undertook that all its materials should be free from customs and excise. Its stock amounted to £25,000.—Sir G. Mackenzie's *Mem. Affairs Scot.* p. 183.

¹⁰ *Privy Council Register*, 16th Feb. 1671.

¹ *Burgh Records*, iii. 238.

The proportional importance of the city as regards the burghs and landward parts of Lanarkshire at that time may be judged by the fact that of the fifty-two soldiers to be supplied for the Dutch war by the shire and its burghs Glasgow had to furnish "between nine and ten." At the same time the city had to provide six seamen for the royal navy.²

The city also was progressing in the appliances of civil life. Hackney carriages had been introduced in London in 1634, but no notice of their appearance in Glasgow occurs till 1673. On 15th March of that year the Town Council authorized the provost to agree with a coachman to serve the town with "haickna choches," and on 2nd June the town paid 200 merks to John Taylor, the coachman, for his first year's wage.

A beginning also was made of the splendid art collection of the city of a later day by a commission sent to the Dean of Guild, when in London in June, 1670, to procure portraits of Charles I. and Charles II. For the latter, still in the city's possession, and showing the Merry Monarch as "every inch a King," the Town Council paid the very moderate sum of £25 sterling.³

A pleasant side of the point of view of the city fathers is also shown by an entry in the minutes of the Town Council, in those evil years of war abroad and discontent at home, directing that the fines collected by the magistrates in their courts were to be spent in apprenticing poor boys to regular trades in the burgh.⁴

At the same time there was a dark background to the life of the city, of which little is heard. There was in existence no *habeas corpus* Act under which a prisoner could demand to be either brought to trial or set free, and in the dungeons of the Tolbooth many prisoners must have languished in almost hopeless captivity. On 15th February, 1666, for instance, a

² *Burgh Records*, 6th April and 11th May, 1672.

³ *Burgh Records*, iii. 136, 139. ⁴ *Ibid.* 28th Sept. 1672, 24th Sept. 1674.

petition was presented to the Privy Council by one William Drew, begging to be either tried or liberated, as he had lain in Glasgow jail for five years on a charge of murder brought against him by Stirling of Keir.

For six months also in 1672 the city was scourged with smallpox. Hardly a family escaped, and over eight hundred deaths occurred.⁵

Perhaps, however, the darkest shadow which lay upon the public and private life of that time was the widespread popular belief in witchcraft. From the date of the Reformation, and throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century, this belief assumed the character of a mania which became virulent in successive waves. It had its foundation in the belief in the existence of a personal devil, which was one of the doctrines most strongly inculcated by the preachers of that age.⁶ With this fearful personage it was possible to make a bargain by renouncing one's Christian baptism and performing certain loathsome rites. The bargain was such a poor one that it is not a little surprising to find anyone believing in it. In return for one's immortal soul one acquired no greater advantages than the power to ride through the air on straws and broomsticks, to assume the shape of dogs or hares, and to play mischievous tricks upon one's neighbours—steal their cows' milk, afflict them with disease, or even bring about their death. No doubt often some poor creature found it profitable to give out that she possessed the powers of a witch, and, on being questioned by the judges, even without torture, many accused persons, old and young, avowed a compact with Satan, and described in detail the incidents in which they had taken part with him. So far can ignorant people be influenced by hallu-

⁵ Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, ii. 347.

⁶ The comparative strength of the belief in witchcraft and the measures taken regarding it in Catholic, Anglican, and Calvinistic countries is very fully discussed by Sir Walter Scott in *Demonology and Witchcraft*, viii.

cination, vanity, or excessive religious zeal for self-condemnation. The popular belief in witchcraft, however, opened the door for countless cases of cruelty and injustice, in which the so-called witches and wizards were clearly the victims of popular fear and suspicion, or personal spite and revenge. One of the most outstanding cases of the latter kind occurred in the neighbourhood of Glasgow.

Sir George Maxwell of Pollok was a well-known supporter of the city's enterprise, and was a chief shareholder in the great whale-fishing company which had blubber-boiling works at Greenock and a candle and soap factory in the city's Candle-riggs. One night in December, 1676, when staying in Glasgow, Sir George was seized with sudden illness—a violent heat accompanied with severe pain. While he lay ill at Pollok House, a young vagrant woman, Janet Douglas, seemingly deaf and dumb, appeared there, and by signs led the patient's sister and daughter to believe that his sickness had its origin in a cottage in the village at hand. With two men-servants she led the way to the cottage of one Janet Mathie, whose son had lately been imprisoned for stealing the laird's fruit. While the woman was induced to step to the door, the girl put her hand behind the chimney, and took out a wax figure wrapped in a linen cloth. Hurrying away with this to Pollok House, she showed it to the two ladies, who found two pins sticking in its right side and one in the shoulder. The pins were taken out, and that night Sir George began to mend. A few days afterwards, when he was told the story, he had Janet Mathie arrested and imprisoned at Paisley.

In the following month he was ill again, his face assuming the leaden hue of death. At this the dumb girl again appeared, with the information that Janet Mathie's son had made a new image of clay, with which he was practising evil arts against the laird. Two gentlemen went with her, and, acting under her directions, found an image with pins sticking in it under the

bolster of a bed. John Mathie and his sister Annapple were at once arrested, and Sir George began to recover his health.

At first the young man denied all knowledge of the images, but when witch-marks were found on his body he and his sister made a confession, describing witch-meetings in their mother's house, and implicating other three women. These three were arrested, and one of them made a confession. Then followed descriptions of the devil—"a man dressed in black, with hoggars over his bare feet, which were cloven," also of meetings at which young Mathie renounced his baptism, and at which Satan helped in the making of the images. In the upshot the four older women and young Mathie were hanged at Paisley, while Janet Douglas recovered her speech, and became a sort of public heroine, people flocking to see her. She then proceeded to further witch-findings, secured the burning of five or six other women, and the imprisonment of more. She herself led a dissolute, idle life, till the Privy Council took her in hand, secluded her for a time in Canongate Tolbooth, and finally shipped her overseas.⁷

⁷ Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, ii. 376.

CHAPTER XXX

ALEXANDER BURNET'S SECOND ARCHBISHOPRIC.

THE failure of Leighton's efforts at conciliating the Covenanters of the south-western counties made it quite clear to the Privy Council that it had to deal with people whose real purpose was the overthrow of the Government itself. At the conventicles, which became more and more desperate in character, the preachers did not hesitate to declare that they considered themselves free from allegiance to a perjured king, and they quoted Scripture to justify the most violent measures against that king and his agents, as malignant persecutors of the true religion. To the conventicles the audiences came armed and in ever greater numbers, and it seemed that only a spark was required to set the whole west country aflame in open rebellion. In these circumstances, a firm hand being obviously required, Alexander Burnet was reinstated in the Archbishopric of Glasgow. It is unfortunate that in the histories of that time, written from the Covenanting side, a constant endeavour is made to belittle and besmirch the personal character of political opponents, and to represent them either as monsters of cruelty, or as profligates or miserable time-servers. Thus Wodrow gravely records a rumour that Burnet secured his return to office by sacrificing the claims of his daughter to her jointure as widow of the heir of Elphinstone, in favour of Lauderdale's niece, who was to marry the next heir.¹ The statement is not supported anywhere.

¹ Wodrow, ii. 144.

The forefront of Burnet's offending was the firmness with which he at once proceeded to deal with the situation in his archbishopric. On 6th October, 1674, when Glasgow Town Council met for the annual election of a provost and magistrates, it was presented with a letter from the new archbishop, nominating John Bell to be chief magistrate. Bell had held the office before, so was evidently a competent person, but Burnet did not wait for his name to be presented in the usual leet, and at once the new provost proceeded to show the purpose of his appointment by ordering six persons to be sent for to fill the places of six councillors, including the Deacon-Convener, who had not taken the Declaration of allegiance, and were therefore by law excluded from holding office. Several councillors pointed out that the provost could not do this without advice and consent of the Council itself, but Bell answered that the Council had done wrong in allowing so many men to sit without taking the Declaration, and that for this reason his nominations must stand. For the same reason he excluded the former provost, William Anderson, from taking part in nominating the new Council. This action resulted in what would now be called a "scene" in the Council, most of the members leaving in a body. But the provost himself and James Colquhoun, bailie, the only two left, went on to call in a quorum of citizens, and forthwith elected a Council for the following year.²

Under this new Council the town's affairs were vigorously attended to. Glasgow was evidently developing rapidly in many ways. In October, 1673, the first coffee-house in the city was established by Colonel Walter Whiteford on a monopoly of nineteen years,³ and at the same time the Town Council

² *Burgh Records*, iii. 186-8.

³ *Ibid.* 172. The first coffee-house in London was established in 1654, and the second in Scotland at Edinburgh in 1677 (*Chambers, Domestic Annals*, ii. 359-60).

granted permission for the building of a "soparie," or soapwork, in Candleriggs. M'Ure describes this as "a great work, consisting of four lodgings, cellars, houses of store, and other conveniences for trade, being a pretty square court." He states that the company was formed in 1667 by "nine persons of distinction," who each contributed £1,500 sterling of capital. It built a fleet of four ships, including one, the *Lion*, of 700 tons burden, carrying forty pieces of ordnance, for the Straits and Greenland fishing.⁴

In April, 1675, arrangements were made for the start of still another industry in Candleriggs, when the Town Council deputed the provost, bailies, and Deacon-Convener to measure off and grant in feu, as much of the town's land there as would serve John Cauldwall and his partners for the building of a "suggarie," or sugar refinery. The actual rates of feu-duty were not settled till 1679, when they were arranged to be 3s. Scots (3d. Stg.) per ell of frontage on the west side of the street and 4s. per ell on the east side.⁵ Meanwhile, by way of giving better access to the "suggarie," "soparie," and candle-houses "at the back of the flesh-market," the city fathers bought ground in High Street above the Cross from James Bell of Provosthaugh and others, and formed the passage known as Bell's Wynd, now widened into Bell Street.⁶ M'Ure, writing in 1736, says of this passage, "Bell's Wynd hath a noble gate and entry of curious workmanship that excells all others in the city. The Wynd stretches from the Kirk Street, and is of length 220 ells and 10 ells wide. In it is the mutton market." This appears to have been the first Glasgow thoroughfare to be named after an individual.

The Council also paid zealous attention to the educational

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 173. *Hist. Glasg.* 1830, p. 227.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 197, 265.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 213, 216, 223.

needs of the community, taking care that the Grammar School, for instance, was kept supplied with competent teachers, or "doctours," as they were called. The stipend paid these "doctours" appears modest in the extreme. In 1674 John Wingate, who by his title of "Mr." was a university graduate, represented to the Town Council that his salary of £100 per annum (£5 sterling) was not enough to maintain himself and his family, and the Council granted an augmentation of £20. The salaries of the city ministers at that time were from £900 to £1,000 (£45 to £50 sterling). But the Grammar School doctors could probably count on substantial additions to their income from certain feu-duties, scholars' fees and Candlemas gifts, the daily peats brought in for firing, and "fugies," or beaten cocks from the cock-fights.

Apart from the classical teaching of the Grammar School, which was the stepping-stone to the University, adequate provision was made for the teaching of writing, reading, and arithmetic. French and navigation were subsidized; music, dancing, and fencing were provided; and the Council even paid a mistress of manners a hundred merks yearly in order that the young women of the town might have the means of acquiring good breeding.⁷

Sport and physical culture, as well, received encouragement. In 1665 the provost was directed to make arrangements for a Glasgow race-meeting, and payments were made to a goldsmith for the making of prize cups for the occasion. And in April, 1675, the Council organized and provided a prize of 20s. sterling for a foot-race to be run thrice round the New Green. At the same time a town piper was appointed to regale the citizens every morning and evening, at a wage of 100 merks per annum; a year later a town's trumpeter was appointed with the same remuneration; and free burgess-ship and exemption from billeting were granted to a "common cook," or restaurateur,

⁷ *Burgh Records*, iii. 24, 111, 120, 180, 308, 475.

to induce him to set up "ane guid hous for serving the Leidges."⁸

In 1678 an agreement was made with William Hume for the running of the first stage-coach between Edinburgh and Glasgow. Hume obtained from the Privy Council a monopoly for seven years, and an exemption from the pressing of his horses for any public service. The coach was to carry six persons, to have six able horses, and to make the journey at least once a week, going on Monday and returning on Saturday. Each passenger was to have liberty to take with him a bag or portmanteau, and the fare was to be £4 16s. Scots, or eight shillings sterling, in the summer months, and £5 8s. Scots in winter. Glasgow subsidized the service with a payment of 200 merks per annum.⁹

Particularly notable was the care taken to provide for the poor of the city. So far there was no "town's hospital" or poorhouse. Though several private foundations, like St. Nicholas Hospital and Hutchesons' Hospital, lodged and provided for a limited number of decayed citizens, and the Merchants' House and Trades' Incorporations supported members who had fallen on evil days, the civic assistance was meanwhile given only in the shape of a dole. Notwithstanding the efforts made from time to time to expel strangers who had no claim on the city, the burden was already heavy enough for the small community. When the roll of indigent persons was made up by a special committee in 1675, the cost of maintaining the town's poor was settled at £469 4s. Scots per month. At the same time, by way of relieving the public purse as far as possible, a number of the poor were provided with badges allowing them to beg publicly in the town. This appears to have been the earliest effort to deal with paupers in a comprehensive and definite fashion.¹⁰

⁸ *Burgh Records*, iii, 51, 54, 196, 204.

⁹ Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, ii, 392. ¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, iii, 195, 196, 197

But though the number of the city's poor seems to have increased to an alarming extent at that time, Glasgow did not neglect the unfortunate elsewhere. Thus on 30th October, 1675, the Town Council deputed two persons to go through each of the four quarters of the city to collect money for the ransom of Walter Gibson, skipper at Inverkeithing, and John Reid his mate, from slavery with the Turks.¹ It also gave Walter Whyte the sum of £6 sterling to pay his passage to "the wasterne islandis of Birbados."

In the light of modern practice the trading restrictions of that time appear curious and interesting, and entailed much jealous supervision upon the Town Council. Upon a ship entering the river with certain classes of cargo, such as wine, salt, and timber, it was obligatory upon the owner to offer the cargo to the magistrates and Council of the burgh. If the magistrates thought the price too high, and refused to purchase, they might make stipulations that were somewhat awkward for the owner. Thus in January, 1674, two ships entered the Clyde, one loaded with wine, the other with tobacco. The owners asked a price which the magistrates could not see their way to pay. They thereupon gave the merchants permission to sell to anyone else, but coupled the licence with the shrewd stipulation that the cargoes must only be disposed of to a burgess of the city, "in haille sail" (*i.e.* wholesale), and at a price not less than had been asked from the magistrates themselves.²

In curious contradiction of these conditions were the various enactments of the magistrates against "forstalling of mercatis," or arrangement for the purchase of goods wholesale by one, two, or three persons, before these goods had been offered for sale in open market. In October, 1675, for example, an outstanding case was brought before the Council. Three merchants had made a contract with all the fleshers of the city

¹ *Burgh Records*, 195, 211.

² *Ibid.* iii. 174.

for the purchase of the hides of all the animals slaughtered up till the following Candlemas. This contract the cordiners, or leather workers, of the burgh regarded as a grievance, a clear case of "forstalling," against which several Acts of Parliament and the use and wont of the kingdom could be cited. After considering the complaint the Council ordered that, after a fortnight, to allow the merchants to recoup themselves for money advanced, the contract should be null and void, and that thenceforth the fleshers must make no forward contract of the kind, but must offer the hides for sale in the open market from day to day, for purchase either by merchants or tradesmen.³

Still another stipulation which must have meant considerable inconvenience to the citizens was brought about by the need for preserving a valuable source of the town's revenue. Complaint was made to the magistrates, probably by the renter of the dues of the tron or weigh-house, that several of the inhabitants were buying commodities, such as woollen yarn, butter, tallow, cheese, linen, and tow, and carrying these home to their shops and houses without having them weighed at the tron and paying the dues for that service. The bellman was accordingly sent through the town ordering that all such goods must be weighed and the dues paid to the troner. At that time the tron was farmed to a contractor for 800 merks per annum.⁴

While the city fathers thus exercised very arbitrary powers over the actions of traders within their gates, they strongly resented any restrictions or interference imposed by anyone else. The chief trouble of this kind at that time was in connection with the city's darling enterprise of establishing a harbour at Port-Glasgow. That enterprise had been costly both in effort and in money, and mention constantly occurs in the records of the Town Council of improvements effected upon the harbour works and town. Thus in June, 1674, a contract

³ *Burgh Records*, iii. 209.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 199, 202.

was made with a mason to set up three perches on the "lawes," or sand-banks between Newport and Greenock, and in February, 1576, another contract was arranged for the construction of a bulwark, or sea-wall, at a cost of 17,000 merks.⁵ Then in August, 1677, an official was appointed to enter in a book at Port-Glasgow the names of all ships coming into the river, and to charge the owners certain dues. Every ship of a hundred tons and over belonging to Glasgow or Dunbarton was to pay a rex dollar, and every ship under a hundred tons 30s. Scots, while for each hundredweight of French salt the dues were to be 13s. 4d. Vessels belonging to any other place were to pay twice as much.⁶

After all this care, labour, and expense it can be understood that any action likely to damage the prospects of the new harbour town would be regarded with objection and alarm. The magistrates took action, for instance, against Thomas Craufurd for putting up a yair at or near Craufurdsdyke, and obliged him to remove the obstruction.⁷

Much more serious, however, was the action of certain unfree persons in Greenock. Without the privilege belonging to freemen of royal burghs, these persons had dared to engage in a contraband shipping trade. Greenock was only a burgh of barony, and therefore only allowed to deal in staple commodities in retail. Notwithstanding this disability certain defiant attempts had been made. On one particular occasion, in 1675, the lairds, Shaw of Greenock, Bannatyne of Kelly, and others, had ventured to bring a vessel into the Clyde laden with wine, brandy, and salt, which were staple commodities. While she lay in the roads opposite Ardmore, the magistrates of Glasgow, Renfrew, and Dunbarton seized and carried her into the harbour of Port-Glasgow, where, being tender of everyone's interest, especially the king's and their own, they called in

⁵ *Burgh Records*, iii. 180, 215.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 239.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii. 260.

three tide waiters, and had the hatches sealed up. During the following night the indignant owners came with an armed force of 100 or 150 men, in six or seven boats, and attempted to carry off the vessel, wounding several of those on board in the proceeding. The attempt, however, was defeated, and the ship carried for safety under the guns of Dunbarton Castle. The three royal burghs then brought an action against the owners in the Court of Session, and secured a decret in which it was declared that only royal burghs possessed the privilege of importing "staple commodities," which included wine, brandy, and salt, and that the penalty for contravention of the law was confiscation of the goods or their value. Glasgow, therefore, with the help of the other two royal burghs on the river, won its case, and vindicated the claim of its pendicle, Port-Glasgow, as against the neighbouring and older community of Greenock, to deal in "staple commodities."⁸

Sir John Shaw of Greenock was at that time engaged in building up the fortunes of his own little harbour town. Greenock had been disjoined from Inverkip in 1594, and constituted a parish in 1636, while in 1635 it had been made a burgh of barony. Sir John Shaw had built a harbour from which the post and packet boats sailed for Ireland, and in 1670, faced with the rivalry of Port-Glasgow, he secured from Charles II. a charter granting the town the right to trade in "staple commodities," wine, wax, salt, and brandy, as well as other goods and merchandise. The charter, however, was not confirmed by Parliament till 1681, and though it saved Greenock from any penalties in the action brought by the royal burghs, the town was forced to pay an "unfree trade cess" for liberty to carry on its foreign trade. The cess was only eight shillings Scots to begin with, but as the number and tonnage of ships increased it rose till, in 1879, just before it was abolished, it

⁸ *Burgh Records*, iii. 210, 203, 228, 239, 261. *Morrison's Dictionary of Decisions*, pp. 1908-1916.

amounted to some £75. Meanwhile the ultimate result of the rival efforts of Charles II.'s time was that Port-Glasgow was made the principal customs station on the Clyde, with Greenock as one of its "creeks," an arrangement which was not reversed till a much later day, when its existence had become a glaring anomaly.⁹

It is interesting to note that in this action the counsel employed by Glasgow were Sir George Lockhart and Sir George Mackenzie, at fees of £20 and £10 respectively, the former afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, shot by Chiesly of Dalry, the latter one of the most cultured Scotsmen of his time, founder of the Advocates' Library, and stigmatized as "the Bluidy Mackenzie" in Covenanting literature.¹⁰

While these various enterprises and developments were going on, the Town Council used a businesslike acumen in turning its resources to account. In August, 1674, the attention of the burgesses was called to certain former acts by which the occupiers of lands in the city could commute their feuduties and rents for a single payment at seventeen years' purchase.¹ In November, 1675, attention was drawn to the fact that for many years owners of houses and lands within the burgh who did not themselves reside there had not been asked to bear any part of the town's burdens, either in cash or in giving quarters to the troops billeted on the citizens. It was accordingly ordered that each non-resident owner should pay twelve merks yearly on every hundred merks of free rental for the six preceding years, and the same sum yearly in all time coming. This was the first approach in Glasgow to a systematic levying of rates on the rental value of property. At the same time the Merchants' House and the Trades' House were asked to consider the Government's Act for levying a duty of four

⁹ Weir's *History of Greenock*. Campbell's *Historical Sketches of the Town and Harbours of Greenock*.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, iii. 282.

¹ *Ibid.* iii. 181.

shillings Scots per pint on all brandy "topped and vented" within the burgh. In the end the Town Council improved on the Act of Parliament by ordaining that brandy imported by strangers and retailed in the burgh should pay six shillings per pint, while brandy sold to persons outside the city should be free of the tax.² The Town Council had hit upon the rule which governs our excise law at the present day—that exports must be free of tax in order to encourage trade. The method, however, was adopted of farming out the excise to a tacksman.

Similarly with the Town Council the trades' incorporations of the burgh had begun to feel the pressure of their expenses. One after another, beginning with the Hammermen, they approached the city fathers, pointed out the unfairness of admitting outsiders to burghship on the same small payment as was made by those who had served an apprenticeship in the burgh, and secured an ordinance that strangers should thenceforth only be admitted on payment of £100 Scots.³ With this modest charge of some five or six pounds sterling began the raising of the cost of burghship, till to-day, in some of the incorporations, the "fine" for entry is as much as three or four hundred pounds.

Considerable sums of ready money for the town's use were secured by the further feuing of the burgh lands. In 1676 the Limehouse Bog was disposed of by auction for the sum of £940 and five merks annual feu-duty; Cowlairs and Seggieholm in the Easter Common, with their pertinents, were sold for three thousand merks and ten merks feu-duty; and certain holdings in the Wester Common were parted with for 2050 merks and ten merks feu-duty.⁴ Among other efforts to raise funds it was remitted to the Dean of Guild and the Deacon-Convener to let "the town's house in the Drygate" for the purpose of a manufactory. This was the old manse of

² *Burgh Records*, iii. 211, 220, 221.

³ *Ibid.* 213, 233.

⁴ *Ibid.* 215, 218.

the prebend of Cambuslang, on the south side of the street, which, after being acquired by the Earl of Glencairn, had been sold by him to the magistrates in 1635, and used as a house of correction for dissolute characters.⁵

In the midst of these endeavours to set its affairs in order the city suddenly encountered a series of misfortunes. To begin with, among the prisoners in the Tolbooth was a certain Thomas Blackwell, committed for the holding of conventicles and the entertaining of nonconformist ministers in his house. "One night," according to Wodrow, "the door being open . . . he and William Stirling, a gentleman in prison with him, got out."⁶ For this occurrence, and as a deterrent against any similar connivance at law-breaking in future, the Privy Council fined the magistrates ten thousand merks. By the terms of the sentence the magistrates were allowed to reimburse themselves out of the estates of the escaped prisoners and the effects of Mungo Mathie, the careless or conniving jailer. With considerable astuteness the provost made a bargain with the Privy Council to pay immediately two thousand merks, and to assign to the Council itself the decret for the whole ten thousand against Blackwell and Stirling, along with the bond of security given by the jailer Mathie on his appointment to the post. The occurrence nevertheless cost the town not only the two thousand merks thus paid, but £400 Scots for advocates' and other fees at court.⁷

But a still greater misfortune was impending. On 2nd November, 1677, a second great fire broke out, and consumed a large part of the town. One hundred and thirty houses and shops on both sides of the Saltmarket were destroyed, and between six and seven hundred families were made homeless and destitute. The fire was started by a smith's apprentice, who had been beaten by his master, and out of revenge set his

⁵ *Ibid.* 219, 246. Cleland's *Annals*, i. 15.

⁶ *Church History*, 1829 ed. ii. 359.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, iii. 232.

workshop ablaze. It set alight the clock of the Tolbooth, and, on the pretext of danger to life, a mob broke open the doors and set free a large number of prisoners, many of whom, such as the Laird of Kersland, were persons charged with disaffection to the Government.⁸

To meet this disaster the Town Council took immediate and energetic measures. There had been some difficulty about securing payment of rent from the tenants of the Provand estate, several of whom had been committed to the Tolbooth for their debt. It was therefore resolved to dispose of that estate to anyone who would hold it as a feu from the town.⁹ The Privy Council also was appealed to, and gave authority for a collection to be taken throughout the country. Nor did the Town Council in this case merely wait for contributions to be sent in, but at once appointed a collector and organized a systematic appeal.¹⁰ The town further took possession of a sum of £300 sterling which had been gifted by Archbishop Leighton to the College for the support of a bursar and two poor men. The money had been lent out, after the fashion of the time, to a substantial citizen, but the town now itself took the capital sum on loan, and undertook to pay the interest for the purposes of the endowment.¹ Thus was begun the system by which the city has since borrowed vast sums of money on more or less permanent loan to defray the cost of works of public utility.

Following the fire the Town Council made a strict order that no more houses should be built of wood, but that stone should be used exclusively for front, back, and gables.² Indirectly some benefit was derived from the disaster. On the petition of the burgesses in Saltmarket, the Town Council

⁸ Cleland's *Annals*, i. 20. *Burgh Records*, iii. 243, 244. *Priv. Coun. Reg.*

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 243.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 246.

¹ *Ibid.* iii. 247.

² *Ibid.* 244.

acquired one of the burnt tenements in that street, and formed a new lane to the Trongate. The purpose of this lane was to afford access in case of another fire. Gibson's Wynd, as the lane was called, afterwards became Princes Street, and was later embodied in Parnie Street.³

³ *Burgh Records*, iii. 276, 277, and note.

CHAPTER XXXI

SECOND INSURRECTION OF THE COVENANTERS.

THERE can be little doubt, however, that the chief troubles of the city and surrounding country at that time arose from the political disaffection of large numbers of the people on the subject of Church government. In view of the sudden increase of armed conventicles which followed Leighton's attempts to conciliate the extreme Covenanters, the Privy Council in July, 1673, commissioned the Duke of Hamilton and five others to ensure obedience to the law within the diocese of Glasgow, and in August the Town Council ordered intimation to be made in the city churches on the following Sunday that persons absenting themselves from kirk would be severely punished. It also appointed individuals to go through the town, one in each quarter, to take note of the persons absenting themselves.¹ To maintain order a garrison of several hundred men was quartered in the town, and an order of the Privy Council in June, 1675, directed that the soldiers should be billeted on known conventiclors and persons who harboured "outed" or disaffected ministers.² The Town Council even, in February,

¹ *Burgh Records*, iii. 169. The institution of these whippers-in, or "compurgators," did not cease at the Revolution, but was continued till well into the eighteenth century, when Mr. Blackburn, arrested for walking on Glasgow Green during church hours, brought an action against the magistrates, and secured the abolition of the practice.

² *Ibid.* iii. 200. One of these sufferers was Mr. James Hamilton, minister of Blantyre, who, as detailed by Wodrow, had been compelled to leave his parish, and not even allowed to hold services in his own house in Glasgow. Curiously enough, as shewing the spirit of the time, this same

1676, appointed certain of its members to go through the town with the ministers and elders, and make note of the young people due to be examined, with a view to their taking communion. At the same time, in obedience to the Acts of Parliament and the Privy Council, the magistrates and councillors themselves subscribed the Declaration and oath of allegiance, and a report of the proceedings was duly forwarded to the authorities in Edinburgh.³

In requiring the signature of this Declaration the authorities were once more taking a leaf out of the book of the Covenanters themselves, who thirty years before had forcibly insisted on everyone signing the Solemn League and Covenant.

By this time the Government, finding more and more reason to regard conventicles as occasions for the preaching of sedition, were introducing a succession of repressive measures. One of these was the intimation on 1st March, 1676, that a fine of 500 merks should be imposed on magistrates of royal burghs for each conventicle held within their bounds. On 20th July several Glasgow citizens were fined for keeping conventicles, and the magistrates apparently became liable under the new order. The provost, however, represented the hardship to the authorities in Edinburgh, and the magistrates appear to have escaped.⁴

The Privy Council also adopted a plan which had been used with success in previous reigns for keeping the peace in the Highlands and other parts of the country. It required the landowners or heritors to undertake that their wives, children, servants, and tenants or cottars should not attend conventicles

Mr. Hamilton had, in 1653, himself displaced Mr. John Heriot, the Episcopal minister of Blantyre, and appropriated the whole stipend, so that Heriot and his family were reduced to absolute destitution.—Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, ii. 282.

³ *Ibid.* 215.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, iii. 223. Wodrow, *Church History*, 1829 ed. ii. 318-19, 321-22.

or disorderly meetings, and should live in peaceful fashion obeying the law. A number of the landed gentry in the shires of Renfrew and Ayr declared that it was "not within the compass of their power" to undertake this obligation, and the Government accordingly organized a force to maintain the authority of the law in the disaffected districts. This force, some five thousand in number, was assembled at Stirling. Like the Glasgow police of the present day, it was largely composed of Highlanders, and on that account was given by the Covenanters the name of "the Highland Host."

At first it was intended to send part of this force to Fife, where there were a good many extreme Covenanters and keepers of conventicles; but the landowners there came together and agreed to offer the Privy Council a bond in the desired terms, undertaking to avoid conventicles themselves, restrain their tenants and dependents, and have no traffic with vagrant preachers. Thus reassured, the Government sent none of the Highland companies to Fife.

Glasgow also avoided the attentions of the Highlanders on that occasion by the magistrates coming under an obligation, like the gentlemen of Fife, to guarantee the lawful behaviour of the citizens. Shrewdly enough, they adopted a plan which might well have been adopted throughout the whole country, and might have solved all the difficulties of the situation. They took a bond in turn from the Merchants' House and the Trades' House, indemnifying them against any loss or fine to which their guarantee might render them liable, and the two "houses" in turn took similar bonds from their individual members.⁵

A number of the gentry in the western shires came under the same undertaking, but they were not numerous enough to guarantee the peace of the district. The Highlanders therefore were commissioned to act throughout that

⁵ *Burgh Records*, iii. 247.

region. Their instructions and commission were much the same as those of modern police, and in the absence of barracks they were of course billeted on the inhabitants, preferably on those known to be disaffected. The measure, however, does not appear to have been a success. The country districts had had no previous experience of billeting. The extremists then, like the extremists of the twentieth century, regarded such control and discipline as an outrage ; and one of the Highlanders was even murdered by the country people.⁶ At the same time the Highlanders themselves, if one is to believe the disaffected folk whom they were sent to control, and to whom their presence was so objectionable, were too apt to regard the occasion as a raid upon the lowlands, and to possess themselves, with little bargain or ceremony, of such articles as took their fancy.⁷

After two months, at the instance of the Duke of Hamilton, the king sent down an express with orders to disband the Highland companies, and send the men back to their homes. Thus the " Highland Host " retired to its native glens, and an early experiment at policing the rural districts came to an end.

According to tradition in Glasgow, the Highland Host, on its way to take up its duties in the western shires, encamped to the west of the city on the high ground now known as Garnethill, and on its return was " relieved " at Glasgow bridge, by the students of Glasgow University, of a large part of the plunder which it was carrying home to the glens of the north.⁸ The fact that this could be done by a handful of young students hardly supports the accusations of ferocity which have been brought against the Highlanders on that occasion. Glasgow itself seems even to have made some profit out of the visit of

⁶ Wodrow, ii. 375, 379, 382. Hill Burton, vii. 191.

⁷ Wodrow, 413.

⁸ Alison's *Anecdote of Glasgow*, p. 86. Brown's *History of Glasgow*, (1795), 151-6.

the "Host." For shoes supplied to the Angus regiment alone the magistrates received £1,056 Scots, part of which was paid at the time by the Earl of Strathmore, commander of the regiment, and part afterwards by the Privy Council direct.⁹ At the same time the town had to pay John Raltoun, a vintner, £10 sterling for the loss of wines and other liquor by the Highlanders letting the taps run in his cellar, and had to allow a rebate of £50 Scots rent to the fleshers, for the occupation of the fleshmarket by the Highlanders' carriages and ammunition.¹⁰

The city was very shortly, however, to make still more vivid and striking acquaintance with the warring passions of the time.

Within the burgh itself there was evidently a defiant element. On 1st April, 1678, the provost and magistrates were standing on the plainstones beneath the Tolbooth, as their custom was, to hear complaints and administer justice, when one Thomas Crawford, a merchant burghess, "in ane arrogant and proud maner, without consideratioun or respect," and "in ane furious way," fell to questioning and challenging the provost. Though the provost again and again desired him to desist, in view of the fact that certain distinguished strangers were present, Crawford declared that he knew his malice, but in a short time would get word about with him, and meanwhile defied him, with other opprobrious speeches. On being summoned before the magistrates, Crawford avowed that he had used the expressions complained of. The fact was confirmed by witnesses, and forthwith, as a deterrent to others, the "wild man" was deprived of his burghship, ordered to pay £100 for the use of the poor, and committed to prison till the fine was paid.¹

Still more ominous was a riot which occurred in connection with a conventicle in the Saltmarket on a Sunday in the follow-

⁹ *Burgh Records*, iii. 254.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* iii. 255, 257.

¹ *Ibid.* iii. 250.

ing October. It is fully described in a letter of Archbishop Burnet printed in facsimile in *The Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 166. Burnet relates how the provost, on his way to church, saw a number of people going towards the Saltmarket. Suspecting a conventicle he sent a Mr. Lees with the town's officers to arrest the preacher and principal hearers. In the house Lees found "not many men, but great multitudes of women." After some scuffle he found it necessary to go for help, but on reaching the street he was set upon by some hundreds of women, who pelted him with stones, disarmed him, threw him down, trod upon him, wounded him in three places on the head, and with blows and treading under foot, left him for dead. The Archbishop was seriously alarmed at the incident, declaring "it doth but discover our nakedness, for if the women had beene repulsed, and men obliged to appeare, it is to be feared this tumult might have produced more fatall effects ; for I can assure your lordship we are at their mercy every houre, and how far the noise and report of this may encourage other disaffected places I cannot tell."

Glasgow appears to have acquired a reputation for the holding of these unlawful assemblies. Information reached the Privy Council that John Hamilton, the town's tenant in Provand, was in the habit of keeping conventicles. The magistrates were informed of its displeasure, and, fearing serious consequences, they ordered Hamilton to be ejected, his goods and plenishing being retained till his rent was paid.²

So seriously did the Privy Council regard the position that in March, 1679, it ordered the magistrates to make up a list each night of strangers lodging in the city, and hand it to Lord Ross, the commander of the garrison, on pain of a fine of a thousand merks. At the same time they were ordered "to turne out the wyfes and families of all uted ministers, fugitive and vagrant preachers, intercommuned persones,"

² *Ibid.* iii. 258.

from the city and suburbs, under pain of a fine of £100 sterling for each person allowed to remain.³

A few weeks later the worst fears of the Government were realized, when open armed rebellion actually broke out. On the 3rd of May, Archbishop Sharp was dragged from his carriage and brutally murdered before the eyes of his daughter on Magus Moor, near St. Andrews. After the deed the murderers, Hackston of Rathillet, John Balfour, alias Burley, and others, made their way to the west country, stopping their flight only when they found themselves among friends at Clockburn, near Balfron, in the Campsie Hills. They took part in an armed conventicle on Fintry Craigs on 18th May, and after consulting with Donald Cargill, formerly minister of the Glasgow Barony,⁴ resolved upon a general rising against the Government.⁵

The 29th of May, which was the king's birthday, and also the day of his Restoration, was specially obnoxious to the Covenanters, who in their manifesto, now drawn up, declared the keeping of that day as a holiday to be an intrusion "upon the Lord's prerogative," and a giving of "glory to the creature that is due to our Lord Redeemer."⁶ That day, accordingly, Sharp's murderers and their friends thought most suitable for the demonstration which should summon the west country to arms. At first it was intended to make Glasgow the scene of

³ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* 19th March, 1679. *Burgh Records*, iii. 264.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, iii. 117.

⁵ The spirit and intentions of these men may be clearly seen in their writings. One of them, their historian, Russel, protested against the payment of all feu-duties, land rents, and minister's stipends, and even of tolls on roads and bridges. Regarding the king he wrote: "Charles Stewart! a bull of Bashan, and all his associates are bulls and kine of Bashan. What would ye judge to be your duty if there were a wild and mad bull running up and down Scotland, killing and slaying all that were come in his way, man, wife, and bairn? Would you not think it your duty, and every one's duty, to kill him according to that Scripture, Exodus xxi. 28, 29?"—Burton, vii. 220, 221.

⁶ Wodrow, iii. 67.



AN
ACT
Against Preachers
AT
CONVENTICLES.
And these present at Field Conventicles.

—Edinburgh, May the 8th 1685.

OUR Sovereign Lord, Considering the
Obstinacy of the Fanatical Party,
who notwithstanding all the Laws formerly
made against them; yet they persevere to keep
their House and Field Conventicles, which are
the Nurseries and Rendezvous of Rebellion.
Therefore His Majesty, with Consent of His
Estates in Parliament, Doth Statute and Or-
dain, That all such as shall hereafter Preach
at such Fanatical, House, or Field Conventicles:
As also, such as shall be present as Hearers at
Field Conventicles, shall be punished by Death,
and Confiscation of their Goods.

Edinburgh, Printed by the Heir of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Kings most Sacred Majesty, Anno D. D. M. 1685.
Reprinted at London, May the 23d. by George Crook, at the Blue Ball in Thames-street, over against Agard's-Coffin.



AN
ACT
Ancient the
COVENANT.

Edinburgh, May the 8th. 1685.

OUR SOVERAIGN LORD
and Estates of Parliament, do here-
by Declare that the giving or taking of
the National Covenant, as explained in
the Year 1638. or of the League and Co-
venant, so commonly called; or Writing
in defence thereof, or owning of them as
Lawful or Obligatory on themselves, or
others, shall infer the Crime and pains of
Treason.



the demonstration, but on learning that a considerable body of troops had just been moved from Lanark into the city it was deemed prudent to go no nearer than Rutherglen. Following this resolution an armed party of eighty horsemen under Robert Hamilton, brother of the Laird of Preston, marched into that burgh on the king's birthday, threw the Acts of Parliament of which they disapproved into the bonfire with which the occasion was being celebrated, extinguished the bonfire itself, read aloud their own declaration and defiance, and fixed a copy of it to the market cross.

Next day, Friday, as he rode in from Falkirk, Captain John Graham of Claverhouse, commander of the dragoons in the disaffected district, received information of these proceedings. He had heard, on the previous day, that the conventiclors of eighteen parishes had arranged to meet on the coming Sunday on Kilbride moor, some four or five miles from Glasgow, and that they meant to keep the field in an armed body. Waiting only till Lord Ross came in to command the garrison, he rode out on the Saturday with a force of a hundred and eighty men, through Rutherglen, arresting on the way three of the men who had taken part in the demonstration, along with an intercommuned minister named King, and reached Strathaven about six on the Sunday morning. Still thinking he might come upon a conventicle, he continued a few miles further to the westward, and at Drumclog, near the scene of Bruce's famous victory of Loudon Hill, discovered the people he was looking for. "When we came in sight of them," he says in his dispatch to Lord Linlithgow, the commander-in-chief, "we found them drawn up in battle, upon a most advantageous ground, to which there was no coming but through mosses and lakes. They were not preaching, and had got away all their women and children. They consisted of four battalions of foot, and all well armed with fusils and pitchforks, and three squadrons of horse."⁷

⁷ Barbé's *Viscount Dundee*, p. 48.

Twice the dragoons drove back the skirmishers of the opposite party, only to find their own horses checked by the bog. Then the whole body of the insurgents advanced upon them, killing and wounding a considerable number of men, and laying open the belly of Claverhouse's own sorrel horse with a pitchfork. The latter saved his standard, and made the best retirement he could to Glasgow, though the people of Strathaven tried to cut off his retreat in a pass near that town.⁸ Among the dead on the field was Claverhouse's own kinsman, Cornet Graham, whom the conventiclors, mistaking the body for that of his chief, mutilated by cutting off the nose, tongue, ears, and hands, and scattering the brains on the ground. Of the seven dragoons captured, five were granted their lives and allowed to depart. This greatly incensed Mr. Hamilton, who had assumed command of the Covenanters, and had ordered before the battle that no quarter should be given, and on his return from the pursuit he settled the fate of one of the others by killing him himself on the spot.⁹

In Glasgow immediate steps were taken to resist the attack with which it was expected the Covenanters would follow up their victory. Barricades were erected, of carts, timber, and any other materials available, in each of the four streets converging on the cross, and half of the troops were made to stand to their arms all night. The insurgents, however, made no attack till next day. The first news was brought by Captain Creighton, who, with six dragoons, had been sent out at day-break to watch the approaches to the city. About ten o'clock he reported that the Covenanters were in sight, and had divided into two bodies. One of these, under Hamilton, marched along the Gallowgate: the other, hoping to take the royalists' position in the flank, took the more circuitous route

⁸ Barbé, p. 49, Letter of Claverhouse to Linlithgow. Napier, *Memorials of Dundee*, ii. 222.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 52. Burton, vii. 228, *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, 201.

by the Drygate and the College. The two attacks, however, were badly timed. When the force that came at Creighton's heels, along the Gallowgate, reached the barricade, it was met with a volley which at once threw it into confusion, and the soldiers, leaping the obstruction, had no difficulty in driving their assailants out of the town. They had time to do this and return to their station before the force descending the High Street could come upon the scene. That force was met in the same fashion, and forced to fall back, but it did so in some order, and rallied in a field behind the Cathedral, where it remained undisturbed till five o'clock in the afternoon. It then retired to Tollcross Moor, and presently, finding that Claverhouse was in pursuit, it continued its retreat to Hamilton.

Claverhouse, considering the Covenanters' rearguard of cavalry too strong for him, fell back on Glasgow, and, in the words of Wodrow, "my Lord Ross and the rest of the officers of the King's forces, finding the gathering of the country people growing, and expecting every day considerable numbers to be added to them, and not reckoning themselves able to stand out a second attack, found it advisable to retire eastward."

The rebellion now became rapidly formidable. Encouraged by their success at Drumclog, and taking it for a sign that the Lord had at last "bared his right arm for the destruction of the Amalekites," the disaffected folk flocked to join the little army in such numbers that in a day or two there were five thousand men in the field. The number is said even to have reached ten thousand, though it fluctuated constantly.

To meet the menace, and put an end to the insurrection as speedily and humanely as possible, the government got together an effective army, which was placed under the command of the Duke of Monmouth, who was known in Scotland as Duke of Buccleuch, from his marriage with the heiress of the Scotts.

Meanwhile the leaders of the Covenanters were spending their time in useless disputations. No attempt was made to

organize their followers under military discipline. Robert Hamilton, the commander-in-chief, held that position because his doctrines were more extreme than those of anyone else. He had no military experience, but the insurgents gloried in the thought that their reliance was placed, not in any arm of flesh, but in a higher power. The dissensions in their councils were further increased by the arrival of John Welch, a clergyman, and great-grandson of John Knox, who brought a body of followers from Ayrshire. Welch had shown some desire to bring about a compromise with the "indulged" ministers, a desire which, in the eyes of the fanatics, was a sin sufficient to bring the curse of Heaven upon the whole undertaking. As they lay on the south side of the Clyde at Bothwell Bridge these two parties devoted themselves to mutual recrimination. The moderate party drew up a declaration of their views, and the extremists appointed a day of humiliation.

In the midst of their disputes, on 22nd June, news reached them that Monmouth's army was at hand. Even then Hamilton made no effort to arrange his forces, but devoted himself to superintending the erection of a huge gibbet, with some cart-loads of rope piled around it, in preparation for completing the vengeance of the Lord upon the enemy about to be delivered into his power.

In such circumstances the conflict could be expected to end only in one way. For a time Hackston of Rathillet, with a few determined followers, held the gate in the high centre of the bridge; but when their powder and ball were exhausted, and no more could be had, there was nothing for it but to retire. Monmouth's men then filed across with little opposition. To prevent carnage the good Duchess Anne of Hamilton is said to have sent a request to the victorious general that he should not disturb "the game in her woods." But in the flight and pursuit, which extended for miles across country, some four hundred Covenanters were slain and twelve hundred taken

prisoner. Of these last two only, both clergymen, were executed at once, and five others afterwards paid the death penalty on Magus Moor. The rest, being too numerous for the prisons, were penned in the Greyfriars churchyard at Edinburgh, whence some were released on giving security that they would keep the peace, and the remainder were shipped to the plantations.

Thus ended another chapter of a drama in which Glasgow, by reason of its situation, played a conspicuous part. Of the city's expenses in connection with the campaign some account is given in a minute of the Town Council of 9th August, 1679 :—
“ Ordaines Johne Goveane to have ane warrant for the sowme of three thousand twa hundreth and alevine pundis Scotis, payit for the charges and expensses bestowed be the toune on the souldiers at the barracadis, provisioune to their horssis, and spent on intelligence and for provisioune sent be the toune to the King's camp at Hammiltoun and Bothwell, and for interteaning the lord generall quhen he come to this burgh, and the rest of the noblemen and gentlemen with him, and for furnishing of baggadage horrsis to Loudon Hill, Stirling, and to the camp at Bothwell, and utherwayes conforme to the particular compt thereof.”¹⁰ Among minor losses was £466 13s. 4d. which the town found it necessary to forego of the rent of the Green, which had been “ almost all eaten and destroyed ” during the rebellion, and £450 similarly forgiven to the Merchants' Hospital, because the Hospital's tenants in the Craigs had had their corn and straw destroyed and eaten and so could pay no rent.

Meanwhile, following the murder of Archbishop Sharp, Alexander Burnet was translated from Glasgow to the primacy at St. Andrews, and Arthur Ross, Bishop of Argyll, was promoted to his place.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, iii. 269, 277, 278, 299.

CHAPTER XXXII

IN THE LAST YEARS OF CHARLES II.

THE next step in the political drama of the West of Scotland was taken by a man who had a close connection with Glasgow. Donald or Daniel Cargill has been already mentioned in connection with the murderers of Archbishop Sharpe. He was the eldest son of Cargill of Hatton, had been appointed minister of the Barony Parish, in succession to the famous Zachary Boyd, as long previously as 1655, but had been ejected in 1662 for his rhetorical "rebuking" of King Charles. Since then he had attained note as one of the fieriest of the field preachers in the lowlands and west country, and had been among the most outstanding of the Covenanting host who engaged against the King's forces at the battle of Bothwell Bridge. Just a year after that battle, along with another leader of the movement, Henry Hall of Haughhead, Cargill was at Queensferry concerting a fresh manifesto against the Government, when the meeting was surprised, and Hall was captured with the draft of the document in his pocket. Cargill himself escaped, and, along with another well-known field preacher, Richard Cameron, completed the composition. This was nothing less than a declaration of open war against the King and Government. After alluding to the acts of Charles as "perjury and usurpation in church matters, and tyranny in matters civil," it proceeds: "Although we be for governments and governors—such as the Word of God and our Covenant allows—yet we for ourselves and all that will adhere to us as the representative of the true

Presbyterian Kirk and Covenanted Nation of Scotland, considering the great hazard of lying under such a sin any longer, do by these presents disown Charles Stewart, that has been reigning, or rather tyrannizing, as we may say, on the throne of Britain these years bygone, as having any right title, or interest in the said crown of Scotland for government, as forfeited several years since by his perjury and breach of Covenant both to God and His Kirk, and usurpation of his crown and royal prerogatives therein, and many other breaches in matters ecclesiastic, and by his tyranny and breach of the very *leges regnandi* in matters civil. For which reason we declare that several years since he should have been denuded of being king, ruler, or magistrate, or of having any power to act, or to be obeyed as such. As also we, being under the standard of our Lord Jesus Christ, Captain of Salvation, do declare a war with such a tyrant and usurper, and all the men of his practices, as enemies to our Lord Jesus Christ and His cause and covenant." The document concludes by disowning the Duke of York, "that professed papist," and protesting against his succession to the crown.¹

At the head of a small armed party, some twenty in number, Cargill and Cameron, on the anniversary of the battle of Bothwell Bridge, rode into the town of Sanquhar, where Cameron read the document and fastened it to the cross. Under the name of the "Sanquhar Declaration" this was used afterwards by the Privy Council and its officers, civil and military, as a test of the loyalty of suspected persons. If a man refused to disown the Sanquhar Declaration it was naturally concluded that he was a rebel and a danger to the country, and many suffered the extreme penalty in consequence.

Cargill himself went further. Convening a congregation in the Torwood near Larbert, he solemnly excommunicated and delivered up to Satan, King Charles the Second, and his brother James, Duke of York, "with several other rotten malignant

¹ Wodrow, iii. 213 note.

enemies." Shortly afterwards, with a well-armed party of some seventy horse and foot, commanded by Hackston of Rathillet, Cargill and Cameron were overtaken among the swampy fastnesses of Ayr's Moss near Muirkirk. There they put up a stiff fight, and, though Cameron was killed and Hackston carried off to trial and execution at Edinburgh, most of the party escaped among the bogs of the region. Cargill himself was shortly afterwards arrested at Covington mill in Clydesdale, and, after sternly defying his judges at Edinburgh, shared Hackston's fate.

Meanwhile Glasgow took its part in the entertainment of the King's brother, the Duke of York, whose visit to Scotland so excited the vituperation of Cargill and his friends. In the Glasgow records the Duke is consistently named by his Scottish title, Duke of Albany.²

While the English parliament was discussing the question of this prince's future it was considered advisable to remove him to a distance, and he was accordingly sent to Scotland to represent his brother as Lord High Commissioner. The more modern part of the Palace of Holyrood House is said to have been built for his accommodation to the designs of Sir William Bruce of Kinross, the architect of the Merchants' House of which the beautiful steeple still stands in Glasgow Briggate. There, with his wife, the gracious Mary of Este, and his daughter, who was afterwards to become Queen Anne, the Duke did his best to win the goodwill of the people, and restore the glories of the Scottish court. While James played tennis and golf with the nobles and gentry, the Duchess won the hearts of their wives by entertaining them to tea, a luxury which was then first brought to Scotland by the royal party.³

Glasgow Town Council made its own contribution to the gaiety of the little court by sending the Duke a gift of French wine "of the growth 1680;"⁴ and when James came to Glasgow

² *Burgh Records*, 1st March, 1681.

³ *Archæologia Scotica*, i. 499.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 25th June, 1681 : 18th Feb. 1682.

in October every effort was made to give him a hearty welcome. The whole Council waited on him with the magistrates, the handsomest young men of the town formed a bodyguard with partizans, and a proclamation was sent out warning the inhabitants to light bonfires at the head of each close when they should be directed to do so by the ringing of the town's bell.⁵

The Duke was entertained in Provost Bell's house on the south side of Briggate, to the west of Saltmarket, and the wines, confections, and provisions used upon the occasion, with the gold and silver boxes in which the burgess tickets were presented to his royal highness and his attendants, the drink money to the Duke's servants, and other expenses, amounted to the sum of £400*l* 12*s*. Scots.⁶

During his stay of some two years and a half in Scotland, James, with his family, appears to have won golden opinions. On many occasions he showed humanity towards the "phanatiques," as the extreme Covenanters were called,⁷ and to prevent the impoverishment of Scotland by the sending of Scots money out of the country for the purchase of fine cloths he secured the passing of Acts by the Privy Council and Parliament for the encouragement of trade and manufactures, and induced a company to establish a cloth factory at Newmills.⁸ The esteem in which he was held may be judged from the fact that his birthday was celebrated with even more cordiality than that of the King,⁹ and it has been suggested that the goodwill secured at that time played no little part in gaining support for the Stewart cause in the Jacobite risings of the following century. The Duke and his family left Scotland finally on 15th May, 1682. A year later Glasgow paid £20 for a portrait of his royal highness to be hung in the council room of the Tolbooth.¹⁰

⁵ *Ibid.* 1st Oct. 1681.

⁶ *Ibid.* 8th Oct. 1681 and note.

⁷ Fountainhall's *Decisions*, *passim*.

⁸ Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, ii. 410.

⁹ Fountainhall, *Historical Observes*, 49. ¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 13th Oct. 1682.

The example of Edinburgh in setting up a cloth factory was promptly followed by Glasgow, where three merchants, John Corse, Andrew Armour, and Robert Burne, set up an establishment for the making of dimities, fustians, and "striped vermiliones." Urging the advantage of their enterprise to the country in retaining money which would otherwise be spent abroad for these commodities, they obtained the authority of the Privy Council to name their work a manufactory, and thus secure the privileges accorded by Act of Parliament.¹

At the same time other industries which Edinburgh never touched were being successfully developed in Glasgow. At the corner of the "new street," Candleriggs, and the new wynd, Bell Street, a company of four merchant burgesses feued from the town a block of ground, and built on it the great Western Sugar-house or refinery, while an adjoining building in Bell Street was known as the North Sugar-house, and also carried on a thriving industry.

The Town Council itself was by no means slack in pushing forward enterprises for the public benefit. At a later day the exploiting of the rich seams of coal underlying the lands on the south side of the river was to make the fortunes of more than one enterprising family, but, while the coal measures of Gorbals were in possession of the town itself, the working of them appears to have been carried on at extravagant expense. In August, 1680, Patrick Bryce was only induced to sink a new pit "for furnishing the toune with coallis" by receiving a discharge for a debt of six hundred merks he owed the town, as well as for forty-eight pounds rent he owed for a crop on the Green, and £10 sterling for grazing ground, while for his "further encouragement" he was also paid 500 merks in cash.²

To judge from repeated remissions of rent such as that to Partick Bryce and to cultivators on previous occasions when the town was subject to military occupation and the like, the

¹ *Priv. Coun. Reg.* 23rd Nov. 1682.

² *Burgh Records*, 28th Aug. 1680.

public possession of land by Glasgow was never a profitable enterprise. Yet throughout the latter part of the seventeenth century the city fathers persevered indomitably in acquiring plot after plot of ground to add to the common on the further side of the Molendinar and along the bank of the Clyde, which remains to-day the oldest of the city's public parks. That ground was known as the New Green, to distinguish it from the Old Green, which extended along the river side westward from the Molendinar to the Broomielaw. The Town Council had parted with these lands beyond the Molendinar light-heartedly enough when it came into possession of them after the Reformation in place of their former owner, the Archbishop. Now, a century later, as if seized with land hunger, the magistrates lost no opportunity of buying back the ground, and painfully acre after acre was added to the public possession.³ A fair enough price was paid for the land. Thus Robert Rae received four thousand merks for ten acres, the sum including a small amount due for rent by the town, and Thomas Crawford got 1800 merks for four acres, the amount including repayment of a fine taken from him "quhen James Campbell was provost."⁴ The town itself duly laid down these new possessions in grass, and some idea of the agricultural costs of the time may be gathered from the fact that £164 13s. 4d. was paid for ploughing and harrowing forty-eight acres.⁵

The magistrates of those years were evidently shrewd business men. They made an effort to recover from the Earl of Argyll the £10,000 Scots which had been lent to his father, the notorious "Glie'd Marquess." The money had been subscribed by the burgesses as long ago as 1635 for the endowment of the Blackfriars Kirk when that kirk was taken over by the town from the University. It was the custom of the time in Scotland, before the days of banks, to entrust such church moneys

³ *Glasgow Water Supply* (1901), App. p. 28.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 18th March, 1682.

⁵ *Ibid.* 16th July, 1681.

on loan to substantial persons who could be relied upon to pay the interest and repay the capital when required. But the Marquess, though head of the Covenanting party, and profuse in religious professions, appears to have done neither, and when he was executed for his misdeeds after the Restoration he was still owing the money. In consequence the Blackfriars Kirk was for years without a minister, its duties being undertaken by the other ministers of the town. The burden upon these ministers having, however, become too great, and the appointment of an incumbent having become urgent, the magistrates applied to the Marquess' son, the Earl of Argyll, for repayment of the debt. At the same time they asked repayment of 10,000 merks, with interest, which had been lent to the Marquess out of the funds of Hutchesons' Hospital.⁶ In reply the Earl argued that, as his father's estates had been forfeited, the debt was now really due by the Government. As for himself, the estates which had been restored to him were a gift of the royal bounty, free from any burden, so that by no law or reason could he be held liable for the debts mentioned in the town's letter to him. The magistrates naturally refused to accept such evasion, and proceeded to urge their claims both in Edinburgh and in London, but the effort met with no success, and, till the present day, the loans have never been repaid.⁷

In the case of another debt the city fathers were more fortunate. The Archbishop, Arthur Ross, had borrowed from the town shortly after his appointment the sum of three thousand merks. By way of repayment he sold to the magistrates for a similar sum the arrears of teinds of the enclosed lands in and about the city which had not been collected for a number of years, and he authorized the Council to secure the payment of these by the heritors and possessors either in the town's name or his own. It may be presumed that in this instance the

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 21st May, 1681.

⁷ *Ibid.* 21st May and 25th June, 1681.

entire debt, with perhaps something to the bargain, was duly recovered.⁸

About the same time occur the first evidences of the chief magistrate of Glasgow being called Lord Provost. Edinburgh had attained this dignity several years previously. Sir Andrew Ramsay, provost of Edinburgh from 1654 till 1657 and from 1662 till 1673 obtained from Charles II the title of Lord Provost.⁹ The title does not appear in use in Glasgow till 1681, and figures first in a curious connection. The authorities of the University had found difficulty in dealing with certain disorders among the students, and though they had, jealously, more than once proclaimed their right to an independent jurisdiction, had been glad to accept the help of the civic power in restoring discipline and expelling the disturbers. By way of thanks the Principal, A. E. Wright, wrote a letter which the Town Council duly recorded in its minutes, in which the provost is directly addressed as "My Lord," and referred to as "your lordship."¹⁰ Responding with vigour, the city fathers asked for a list of the recalcitrant students and their lodgings in the town, in order that they might be bound over to keep the peace, or removed from the burgh. They also, at request of the masters of the college, ordered that all billiard tables near the college should either be removed, or that no students be allowed to play at them.¹ After that occurrence the title of Lord Provost was used intermittently.²

Whether spurred by this new dignity or not, Glasgow shortly afterwards made a further bid for honour. When the rolls were called at the meeting of the first parliament of King James VII. in 1685, the provost, John Johnstone of Clachrie, who was also the parliamentary representative sent up by the burgh,

⁸ *Ibid.* 6th June, 1681.

⁹ Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*, ed. 1929, p. 32, footnote.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 21st Dec., 1680.

¹ *Burgh Records*, 1st March, 1681. ² *Ibid.* 1st Oct. 1683.

demanded precedence before the burghs of Aberdeen, Stirling, Linlithgow, and St. Andrews, which had previously ranked above his city on the rolls.³

While jealous of its dignity in such matters, Glasgow continued to be most generous to other communities when they required help. Thus in 1682 the Town Council subscribed £400 Scots towards the building of a stone bridge over the Ness at Inverness, and a like amount towards the erection of bridges over the Clyde and the Duneaton near Abington.⁴ It also arranged for a collection to be taken in the city churches for the repair of the harbour at Burntisland.⁵ Again, in response to a "supplication" from the magistrates of Dunbarton, it arranged to make an organized collection through the town to help the building of a bridge over the Leven. In this case the stipulation was made that in return the people of Glasgow and their goods should be entitled to free passage over the bridge, without payment of tolls.⁶ And yet again, after the burning of Kelso in 1684, the Town Council directed the magistrates and ministers to have a door-to-door collection made to help the rebuilding of the Tweedside town.⁷

At the same time the city fathers did not neglect the monuments of the past within their own gates, and contributed four hundred merks towards the repair of "the consistorial court at the west end of the High Kirk"—one of the two western towers of the Cathedral which were so mistakenly demolished by the "restorers" of 1859.⁸

Regard for intellectual interests also is to be gathered from the fact that the Town Council subscribed eight rex dollars for

³ *Act. Parl. Scot.* viii. 455.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 4th May, 1682.

⁵ *Ibid.* 19th June.

⁶ *Ibid.* 5th May, 1683.

⁷ *Ibid.* 26th July, 1684. Before the proceeds of this collection could be handed over a considerable conflagration occurred in Glasgow itself, and on application to the Privy Council, permission was granted to retain the money for the relief of the people at home thus made destitute.

⁸ *Ibid.* 26th June, 1684.

the publication by the Rev. William Geddes of his *Memoriale Historicum* and another book, perhaps *The Saint's Recreation*, printed at Edinburgh in 1683.⁹ Geddes had been minister of Wick, but had resigned because of his objection to take the Test, and seems to have taken to literary work as a profession.

At the same time care of the poor at home and of the unfortunate abroad continued to receive attention. Arrangements were made with the Dean of Guild and the Merchants' House to build "a large stane lodging for the use of the poor" at the corner of Trongate and Saltmarket, on waste ground unbuilt on, "by any who had interest therein" since the last fire.¹⁰ And in 1681 sums of £200 Scots and £10 sterling were subscribed for the relief of Christian prisoners held in slavery by the Turks. This last appears to have been a fashionable charity of the time. Several instances have been cited in previous chapters. In the latest case the money was paid to a certain Francis Polanus, "to relieve his twa brethern and a sister out of slavery," and, notwithstanding the statement that he had "made the same appear to be true by certificates he produced," one cannot help a lurking suspicion of the good faith of Francis and others of his kind.¹

An imposition of yet more obvious sort was the patent which had been given in 1673 to Edward Fountain of Lochhill and Captain James Fountain, his brother, to be "Masters of the Revels" in Scotland. On the strength of their patent the brothers demanded fees for authorizing public shows, balls, lotteries, and other entertainments. Apparently they had demanded fees from the Glasgow vintners for the games allowed in their houses, and, failing payment, had taken out letters of horning against these townsmen. In June 1682 the Town

⁹ *Ibid.* 17th May, 1684.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 30th Sept. 1682.

¹ *Ibid.* 30th April and 25th Nov. 1681.

Council compounded the matter by paying the precious Masters of the Revels the sum of £240 Scots.²

Yet another payment which throws curious light on the life of the time is that of £5 sterling "to the montebank for cutting off umquhill Archibald Bishop's legg." A mountebank was a charlatan who mounted a bench or platform in the market-place and undertook to perform surgical operations and cure diseases. From the fact that the patient in the Glasgow case is described as "umquhill," or deceased, it would appear that the mountebank's skill on this occasion had been somewhat less than equal to his effrontery.³

A more reputable practitioner appears to have been Duncan Campbell, who, on the strength of a certificate from the majority of the surgeons in the town, as to his dexterity and success in "sounding" and in cutting for the stone, was appointed to cut the poor in place of Ewir McNeill, who had become unfit through infirmity.⁴

Not less interesting for its light on the manners of the time was a payment of £128 Scots for *rosa solis* and chestnuts given by the magistrates to some unnamed persons in 1684. The gift alludes to a luxury now forgotten. The *rosa solis* was the common sundew of the Scottish moors. From it was made an agreeable liqueur known as *Rossoli*, so the purchase made for presentation purposes by the Glasgow bailies of Charles II.'s time was something of the nature of the walnuts and wine that figure on the dinner-tables of to-day.⁵

² The Fountains had forced some six thousand persons throughout the country to compound with them, and had thus realized about £16,000.—*Priv. Coun. Reg.* 22nd July, 1684.

³ *Burgh Records*, 13th March, 1683.

⁴ *Ibid.* 27th March, 1688.

⁵ *Ibid.* 23rd Aug. 1684. The liqueur alluded to was made thus. Four handfuls of sundew were infused in two quarts of brandy, and to the infusion was added a pound and a half of finely pounded sugar, a pint and a half of milk, and an ounce of powdered cinnamon. The decoction was then strained through a cloth, and to it were added two grains of musk and half an ounce of sugar candy. The manufacture of the liqueur might be worth reviving at some of our Highland distilleries at the present day.

A steadily growing demand for information regarding public events is indicated by the refund to " John Alexander, post," of £60 Scots, which he had paid to Robert Mein for the supply of news letters and gazettes, as well as ten merks for half a barrel of herring given to Donald McKay for his trouble in despatching the news sheets.⁶

Alongside of these evidences of a generous outlook on life on the part of the city fathers must be set a mental attitude which reflects less credit upon certain members of the community who might have been looked to for greater enlightenment. Little need be thought of vulgar rumours of apparitions being seen in and about the city, and of strange voices and wild cries being heard in the night about such lonely places as the Deanside well. These are the common apparatus of ghaists and bogles current among the ignorant even to our own time in every part of the country. But more significance must be attached to the mental attitude of a book written by the occupant of a chair in Glasgow University. George Sinclair, Professor of Philosophy at the College of Glasgow, was the author of *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*. The character of the work may be gathered from its sub-title, " A Choice Collection of Modern Relations, proving evidently, against the Atheists of this present age, that there are Devils, Spirits, Witches, and Apparitions, from authentic records and attestations of witnesses of undoubted veracity." The book was granted copyright for eleven years by the Privy Council, and continued to be reprinted as late as the year 1814.⁷ In the mind of Sinclair and a large body of the public of that time a man was an " Atheist " if he did not believe in the existence of apparitions, witches, spirits, and devils.

Such were some of the preoccupations of the minds of the

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 30th Sept. 1682.

⁷ *Reg. Priv. Coun.* 26th Feb. 1685. *Chambers's Domestic Annals*, ii. 435,

citizens of Glasgow as the reign of Charles II. was drawing to a close. All the time there remained the constant disturbing element which had bred trouble in Scotland for a hundred years. As has been well said, "Men, in trying to make each other Episcopalians and Presbyterians, almost ceased to be Christians." To us, amid the conditions of to-day, the ostensible points then at issue do not appear to be so vital. The introduction of a liturgy, regarding which so much trouble was made in the days of Charles I., was nothing new in Scotland. John Knox himself drew up and introduced a liturgy, the "Forms of Prayer and Catechism," which was even translated into Gaelic by Bishop Carswell of Argyll. Nor was the government of the Church by bishops much different from its supervision by the "superintendents" appointed as overseers of ecclesiastical affairs in all districts of the country by Knox and his friends. Even the method of selecting and installing the ministers appears to have been little different in the two communions. Here are the proceedings which were followed in inducting a minister in Glasgow in the year before the death of Charles II. :

"The proveist, baillies, and counsell of the said burgh being conveened, and, taking to their consideration their calling and presenting of ane able and qualified person for serving the cure as ane of this burghs ordinary ministeris, now vacant throw the transportation of Mr. John Gray, late minister here, from this place to Aberlady, they all, with ane unanimous consent, being assured and weill informed of the qualificatioune, good lyfe, and conversatioune of Mr. John Saige, student of divinity, has called, nominat, and presented, and hereby calls, nominats, and presents the said Mr. John Saige, to be ane of the ordinary ministeris of this burgh in place of the said Mr. John Gray, and to the ordinary stipend payable yeirly to ane of the ministeris within the said burgh, serving the cure ther, quhilk is, yearly, ane thousand pounds money of stipend and four scoir pounds of hows mail, to be paid at twa termes in the yeir, Whitsonday

and Martimes, be equall portions, beginnand the first termes payment therof at the term of Whitsonday j^m vj^c and eighty fyve yeiris for the half yeir immediately preceeding ; and wills and desyres the most reverend father in God, Arthur, by the mercy of God archbishop of Glasgow, to try and examine the literatur, qualificatioune, good lyfe and conversation, of the said Mr. John Sage, and, being found qualified, to admitt and receive him to be ane of the ministeris of this burgh for exercing the function of the ministrie therin, and to give him collation, institution, and all uther sort of ecclesiastick ordouris requisit for that effect, and to take his oath for giving dew obedience to his grace the said archbishop, his ordinary, in forme as effeiris ; and ordains the clerk to subscriye and give furth to the said Mr. John Sage ane extract of thir presents, quhilk is declared to be als sufficient as if ther wer a presentatioune drawn wp and subscrivit be the saids magistratis and counsell themselves." ⁸

In view of the slighness of difference in the actual practice of the two communions, the roots of the discord must be looked for elsewhere. Perhaps it lay in the proclivity, already pointed out, of the Church of Calvin to follow the teaching of the Old Testament rather than the New, and a consequent feeling of the ministers that, like Elijah and the other prophets of the Jews, they should be subject to no human authority ; and should exercise power over public and private affairs directly in the name of God. A similar power had been claimed by the Roman churchmen of an earlier day, the priests urging that they were not amenable to the secular law, but were subject only to the direction of the Pope and the courts of Rome. King Robert the Bruce and other Scottish kings strongly resented that early attempt to set up an *imperium in imperio*, which made effective government impossible, and they crushed its pretensions with a firm hand. In like circumstances the Stewart kings of the seventeenth century saw a menace to good government in the

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 23rd Aug. 1684.

claim of the Genevan churchmen to an absolute domination in the affairs of public and private life. They were, further, naturally alarmed when that claim took the form of armed force, and the fact that it actually succeeded so far as to bring Charles I. to the block, made the rulers of Scotland after the Restoration particularly alive to the dangers which might lurk in the doctrines of men like Cargill and Cameron and Peden the Prophet. They could not but be confirmed in their opinion by the formidable armed risings which culminated in the battles of Rullion Green and Bothwell Bridge and Ayr's Moss; and when, in 1680, the authors of the Sanquhar Declaration threw down the gauntlet of open war, there could no longer be any question as to what must be done.

The answer to that Declaration was the famous Test Act of 1681. This Government measure, along with the oath imposed on members of parliament which immediately preceded it, was apparently founded on the first of the English Test or Corporation Acts then already in existence, which was only finally repealed in the reign of George IV.⁹ The oath declared it to be "unlawful to subjects, upon pretence of reformation, or other pretence whatsoever, to enter into leagues or covenants, or to take up arms against the king or those commissioned by him"; it characterized as unlawful and seditious "all these gatherings, convocations, petitions, protestations, and erecting and keeping of council tables, that were used in the beginning of and for carrying out of the late troubles"; and it specifically mentioned as unlawful "these oaths, whereof the one was commonly called The National Covenant, as it was sworn and explained in the year 1638 and thereafter, and another entituled A Solemn League and Covenant, . . . taken by and imposed upon the subjects of this kingdom against the fundamental laws and liberties of the same." While the oath was signed only by the members of the Scots parliament at the

⁹ Act 13 Carl. II. c. 2; 25 Carl. II. c. 1; 9 George IV. c. 17.

beginning of the session, the "Act anent Religion and the Test" which that parliament placed upon the statute book had to be accepted on solemn oath by all persons holding public office throughout the country. It ran: "I own and sincerely profess the true Protestant religion contained in the Confession of Faith received in the first Parliament of King James the Sixth, and I believe the same to be founded on and agreeable to the written Word of God. And I promise and swear that I shall adhere thereto all the days of my lifetime, and shall endeavour to educate my children therein, and shall never consent to any change or alteration contrary thereto; and I disown and renounce all such practices, whether Popish or fanatic,¹⁰ which are contrary to or inconsistent with the said Protestant religion and Confession of Faith." The Test further included the assertion "that the King's majesty is the only supreme governor of this realm over all persons and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil." It was to this last statement that the Covenanters in the West of Scotland chiefly took exception. They held that Christ was the only head of the Church, and that, if any of the King's acts did not conform to their personal reading of Scripture, they were entitled to withdraw their allegiance and make war upon the earthly monarch.

The Government was further stirred to action by the discovery of the Ryehouse and Assassination plots in England. These plots, mainly organized by a Scotsman, Robert Fergusson, "the Plotter," proposed to remove the danger of a Roman Catholic, in the person of the Duke of York, succeeding to the throne, by deliberate murder of the Duke and King Charles himself as they passed a certain place. Fergusson had actually arranged the place for the assassination, had consecrated a blunderbus for the purpose, and, as a clergyman, had composed a sermon to be preached after the happy deliverance. He was on one of his frequent visits to Edinburgh when the plot was

¹⁰ The rebels of the west country were commonly alluded to as "fanatics."

discovered, and only escaped the hue and cry by taking refuge in the tolbooth itself, where the keeper of the prison was his friend. Following the discovery a number of Scotsmen who had been in touch with Fergusson were arrested and put to the torture in Edinburgh. Campbell of Cessnock, a supporter of the Earl of Argyll, was brought to trial, but acquitted; while Baillie of Jerviswood, though his association with the plotters in London was almost certainly innocent, was found guilty and hanged.

In the West of Scotland the treatment of suspected persons became more rigorous. For weeks a court sat in Glasgow to inquire into the loyalty of suspected persons. Its president was the Hon. John Drummond of Lundin, successively Treasurer Depute and Secretary of State for Scotland, and afterwards Earl of Melfort, and much interesting information as to the temper of the people and their treatment by Government at the time is to be found in the reports which he sent daily to the Marquess of Queensberry at Dumfries. The proceedings appear to have been orderly, and most of the breakers of the law, chiefly in the countenancing of conventicles and harbouring of disaffected persons, were dealt with by fines. Among those mulcted in this way were Sir George Maxwell of Pollock and the Laird of Duchal.¹ But there were also more serious cases. In Glasgow on 19th March, 1684, as described by Woodrow, "five worthy and good men were executed at the cross." One had been present at Ayr's Moss, another, a Glasgow tailor, could give no satisfactory answer "anent Bothwell and the bishop's death," and all five were indicted with taking part at Bothwell Bridge and with being "accessory to other insurrections, and reset and converse." The printed defence of one of the accused, John Main, ran "that he was at Bothwell, but only as an onlooker; that he had conversed with one, Gavin Wotherspoon, who was

¹ *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on Drumlanrig MSS. of Duke of Buccleuch*, ii. 175-196.

asserted to be a rebel but not proven one ; that indeed he had not termed Bothwell a rebellion, neither would he renounce the covenants ; that his silence as to the King's authority could never in law be made treason ; that as to King Charles I. his death, he knew nothing about it ; and as to the archbishop's, he would not judge of that action." The answers of the other men, says the historian, were much the same as these, and it was chiefly upon their silence when questioned on the three last points that they were condemned. " All of them died in much comfort, peace, and the utmost cheerfulness," and were buried in the High Church yard, where a memorial stone still contains their names. At the execution one Gavin Black, from Monkland, was arrested by the soldiers " upon mere suspicion, and some tokens of sorrow appearing in him," and put in prison, and afterwards, failing to give satisfactory answers to inquiries, was banished to Carolina. And at the burial, James Nisbet, a relation of one of the men executed, was arrested, and afterwards shared their fate, being hanged at the Howgate-head near Glasgow, in June. " He owned Drumclog and Bothwell lawful, in as far as they were acts of self-defence, and appearances for the gospel. He refused to renounce the covenants, and to own the King's authority, as he expressed, in so far as he had made the work of reformation and covenants, treason. After he was condemned he was offered his life if he would acknowledge the King's headship and supremacy over the Church, which they well knew he would never do."² A stone in the wall of Castle Street near the foot of Garngad Hill marks the burial-place of Nisbet and other two, James Lawson and Alexander Wood, who suffered on 24th October 1684.

While these arrests and executions were going on, the authorities put into more vigorous effect their measures against the nonconforming ministers, whom they considered to be chief agents in fanning the smouldering embers of disaffection and

² Wodrow, iv. 62-67.

rebellion. On 22nd April the magistrates of Glasgow sent a proclamation through the town warning all nonconforming preachers to leave the burgh within forty-eight hours, and to remove their families before Whitsunday, "conform to ane act of his Majesty's privy councell daited the 27th of July 1680."

Such was the state of affairs in the country when an event occurred which immediately realized the worst fears of the Government. On 6th February, 1685, King Charles II. died. Within three months, landing with arms and munitions from Holland, the Duke of Monmouth in the West of England and the Earl of Argyll in the West of Scotland raised the standard of rebellion, and the two kingdoms were plunged once again into the throes of civil war.

CHAPTER XXXIII

REBELLION AND REVOLUTION.

THE Netherlands were, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the chief rival of this country in colonizing enterprise and naval power. Since the days of Charles I. they had afforded an asylum to discontented and disinherited persons from England and Scotland alike.¹ Charles II. himself had found a retreat there while he waited an opportunity to recover the double crown from the Government of Oliver Cromwell. The Netherlands also were the arsenal from which the weapons were obtained which were used against the Government troops at the battles of Rullion Green, Drumclog, Bothwell Bridge, and Ayr's Moss. Accordingly, the arms and men were both ready there when the accession of Charles II.'s brother, the Duke of York and Albany, as King James VII. and II., seemed to offer a favourable opportunity for another attempt. The new king was a Roman Catholic, and for that reason unpopular, and the discontented elements at Amsterdam and the Hague resolved to seize the chance to effect a revolution without delay. Within three months of the beginning of the new reign two strong and fully equipped expeditions sailed from the Dutch ports.

The Earl of Argyll, as we have seen, had pleaded lack of means as a reason for refusing to repay the money borrowed by his father from Hutchesons' Hospital and the Town Council of Glasgow. But lack of means did not prevent him from fitting out a formidable expedition, with ships and men and ample

¹ *Coltiness Collections*. Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, ii. 540.

munitions of war, for a more definite attempt than had yet been made to overthrow the Government of Scotland. And thus, while the Duke of Buccleuch and Monmouth, son of Charles II. and Lucy Walters, with certain pretensions to legitimacy and a claim to the throne, landed with a force in the south-west of England, Argyll, at the head of an equally threatening array, disembarked in his own country, near the disaffected south-western district of Scotland. The story of that ill-starred campaign is told with fullness and, for him, unusual fairness by Lord Macaulay in his history of that time.

Had the Earl been a leader of military ability, like the two Leslies or Montrose, he might easily have raised an army of formidable size and determined character from among the Covenanters of Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, and Galloway, and might have opened another campaign like that of forty years earlier which resulted in the overthrow and execution of Charles I. The very real apprehensions of the Government as to such a possibility are shown by the fact that, at the news of Argyll's rebellion, some two hundred Covenanter prisoners then in Edinburgh were sent to safer keeping in the strong northern fortress of Dunnottar.²

But Argyll was no general. Leaving his munitions, with a small garrison, on one of the islands at the mouth of Loch Ridden in the Kyles of Bute, he proceeded, with a force of some eighteen hundred men, to cross Loch Long and march upon Glasgow. After fording the Water of Leven at Balloch, however, the rebels came in sight of a strong body of Government troops posted in the village of Kilmaronock. Argyll was for giving instant battle, but the expedition was really under the control of a committee of which Sir Patrick Hume of Marchmont was the leading spirit, and on his advice it was determined to delay till night, and then, crossing the Kilpatrick Hills, give the red-coats the slip, and endeavour to reach the objective at Glasgow,

² Wodrow, iii. 322.

where, it was expected, strong reinforcements would join the rising. But the night was dark, the guides mistook the track, and among the bogs and in the darkness many of the Highlanders took the opportunity of going home. In the morning at Kilpatrick the Earl found his force reduced to five hundred men. Perceiving further attempt to be hopeless, he disbanded his company, and, crossing the Clyde, changed clothes with a peasant. He had made his way as far as Inchinnan, when his appearance excited suspicion, and he was seized by some rustics. He is said to have betrayed himself by the exclamation "Unhappy Argyll!" and as a result found himself under strong guard that night in the tolbooth of Glasgow. Thence, almost immediately, he was conveyed to Edinburgh, where, on the warrant of a bygone sentence, he was executed on 30th June.

How Argyll expected to find support or reinforcements in Glasgow is difficult to understand. It is true that while he, with three other officers and "ane poor Dutchman," "being all wounded," lay in the tolbooth, the magistrates expended the sum of £55 2s. Scots on dressing their wounds and furnishing them with drugs.³ But that was no more than a matter of common humanity. On the accession of King James the magistrates had sent the new monarch a most loyal address.⁴ At the news of Argyll's sailing past the Orkneys, three regiments of Lothian and Angus militia had been quartered in the town, and the city fathers had themselves equipped a body of eleven militiamen who were on service for forty-four days.⁵

Argyll's invasion was the last armed attempt of any size made against the Government by the Covenanters in the West of Scotland. Lord Macaulay has justly said of it, what might be said of the earlier efforts of the Covenanters at Dunbar and Bothwell Bridge, "What army commanded by a debating club ever escaped discomfiture and disgrace?" Nevertheless the

³ *Burgh Records*, 10th Aug. 1685.

⁴ *Ibid.* 13th March.

⁵ *Ibid.* 10th Aug.

alarm which it caused was not the less profound. The Privy Council protested against the withdrawal of troops to meet Monmouth's invasion in the south, declaring that not many of the rebels had been captured, and that there remained "a vast number of fanaticks ready for all mischief upon the first occasion." ⁶

At the end of July, a month after Argyll's rebellion had been suppressed, the prisoners, eight score and seven in number, who at the outbreak of hostilities had been sent for safe keeping to Dunnottar, were brought south again, and tried by the Lord President of the Court of Session and four earls at Leith. Among those who took the oath of allegiance and were set free were two Glasgow men, John Marshall and David Fergusson; but the greater number, remaining refractory, were sent to the plantations. ⁷

It is instructive here to note that, while so many of the Covenanters were being shipped out of the country, the Government did not object to another much greater body of Dissenters coming in. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by the Government of Louis XIV. is said to have brought some fifty thousand French Protestant refugees into this country. A colony of these settled in Edinburgh, where a large building, known as Little Picardy, was erected for their accommodation, and where they established a cambric factory. ⁸ And no doubt some of them, like the Huguenot refugees from the Massacre of St. Bartholomew a hundred years before, made their way to Glasgow and the West, to help the prosperity of the country by their skill and industry. ⁹ In particular the paper-making industry in Glasgow was started by one of these refugees.

⁶ *Reg. Priv. Coun.*, 3rd Series, vol. xi.

⁷ Wodrow, iii. 326.

⁸ Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 215. The spot is commemorated in the name of Picardy Place.

⁹ Names like Verel and Pettigrew (Petit croix?), to be found in the Glasgow Directory to-day, probably date from one of these immigrations.

Coming to Scotland with his little daughter after the Revocation of the Edict, Nicholas Desham made a living for a time by picking up rags in the Glasgow streets, and in time saved enough to start a paper mill close by the old bridge of Cathcart, where the work continued to be carried on till near the end of the nineteenth century.

The rebellions of Argyll and Monmouth could not but give the last spear-prick to the exasperation of King James. In the proclamations of each of these leaders—probably both drawn up by “Fergusson the Plotter”—he had even been accused of poisoning his brother, the late king. It was too much to expect that the Government should not take the strongest measures to punish and prevent a repetition of such dangerous treasons. Accordingly, while Judge Jeffries was sent down to visit with retribution the supporters of Monmouth in the south-west of England, measures were redoubled to stamp out the embers of rebellion in the south-west of the northern kingdom. In the one case the result was the “bloody assizes” of the notorious English judge, and in the other the “killing times” which have left so dark a stain in the Scottish annals. The Covenanters in their day of power had been not less ruthless, and they were to be equally ruthless again;¹⁰ but two blacks do not make a white, and the fines and torturings and military executions of those “killing times” make one of the most distressing chapters in the history of the country.

The King himself, though so far away as Whitehall, took a much more direct and intimate part in the actual government of Scotland than might be believed in the twentieth century. Of this an illuminating illustration is afforded by an episode in which two of the provosts of Glasgow were concerned.

In October 1682 John Barnes was nominated by Archbishop

¹⁰ In their treatment of prisoners after the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh, for instance, and in the “rabbling out” of the episcopal clergy and their families after the Revolution. Two hundred of these episcopal clergy were rabbled out in the south-west of Scotland alone.

Ross to fill the provostship, and he was appointed again in 1684. Barnes appears to have been a man of rude energy and determination, for he proceeded to fill up certain vacancies in the Town Council on his own initiative, without the usual process of nomination by the existing members; and, in spite of protest by the previous provost, John Bell, he made good the appointments, and had one of his nominees, who was not even a burgess, appointed a magistrate by the Archbishop. Also, towards the end of his term of office in September 1684, the Town Council was called upon to pay £6 9s. sterling to one Allan Glen for a horse he had newly bought that died at Edinburgh, "being bursten ryding thither be the provost." By that time Barnes appears to have been in financial difficulties, and, as Archbishop Ross had been translated to St. Andrews to fill the place of Archbishop Burnet, who died on 24th August, he apparently resolved to play the part of the unfaithful steward, and make the most of his opportunities before being superseded in the provostship. The Town Council minutes of 26th September record a spate of payments. The keeper of the tolbooth clock and chimes had his salary raised from £5 to £10 sterling. A contract, at what looks a very high price, was given to Robert Boyd for building a wall to protect the new washing-green on the north side of the Cathedral and a bridge beyond the Cowcaddens. John Waddrop, a tanner, was forgiven a debt of 950 merks in consideration of a number of hides that had been taken from his tanning pits to protect houses from a recent fire in Gallowgate. £100 Scots was given to Robert Stirling in consideration of loss he had sustained in carrying on the Sub-Dean's mill. John Cumming received £10 sterling on the plea that his tack of the Green had proved unprofitable through few graziers pasturing their cattle there. £725 10s. was paid to Bailie Anderson for plenishing and coal and candle supplied for "the general's" lodging. In view of the agreement that the librarian at the University should be appointed every four years alternately by

the college authorities and the Town Council, Mr. James Young, Professor of Humanity, who within a year had received the appointment from the college, was granted the post for the next term of four years, three years in advance. The town clerk, George Anderson, in addition to his expenses for various errands on the town's business, was given a *douceur* of £480 for his pains, while three clerks in his office received £180 of a gratuity for their "extraordinary pains." Bailie Graham was paid £223 Scots, of which £40 were for expenses in attending Archbishop Burnet's funeral, and the rest "for drink spent in his house be the magistratis wpon the touns accompt since the twenty eight of June last." And William Stirling, bailie depute of the regality, and John Johns, procurator fiscal of the commissariat of the city, received £25 sterling, for their pains and service and "their discretioun to the toun and inhabitantis." Most glaring of all, a new tack of the teinds of the Barony was arranged with Archbishop Ross, entailing a greatly increased sum to be paid by the city to the prelate, while the deed previously signed by Ross was ordered to be delivered up to him. As there was no time to lose over this transaction, John McCuir, writer, was sent post haste through the country to secure the signatures of the dean and chapter to this document. Finally, Provost Barnes himself had apparently been borrowing considerable sums from the city funds. His debt amounted to £1706 12s. 6d. This sum the magistrates and Council very complaisantly agreed to make over to him as a gift, "taking in their consideration the great pains and trowble the provest hes bein at in ryding and doing the touns affairis these twa yeiris." At the same time, probably to make the transaction appear less extraordinary, John Wallace, the deacon-convener, was forgiven a similar debt of £80, "for his pains and ryding in the touns affairis."¹

Two days after the last of these transactions another provost, John Johnstone of Clathrie, was appointed, and within a month

¹ *Burgh Records*, 26th, 27th, and 29th Sept. 1684.

the new Town Council proceeded to deal actively with these abuses.

Provost Johnstone was a man of substance, the laird of considerable estates in Nithsdale, and one of the "venturers" who fitted out the Glasgow privateer *George* for action in the war with the Dutch of that time. It was no doubt through his Dumfriesshire connection that he was known to the new Archbishop, Alexander Cairncross, who had been minister of Dumfries before being appointed, through the influence of the Duke of Queensberry, first to the Bishopric of Brechin, and, later in the same year, to the Archbishopric of Glasgow. All these three Dumfriesshire men, the Duke, the Archbishop, and the Provost, were to be visited presently with the royal displeasure for their lack of complaisance in the arbitrary actions of King James.

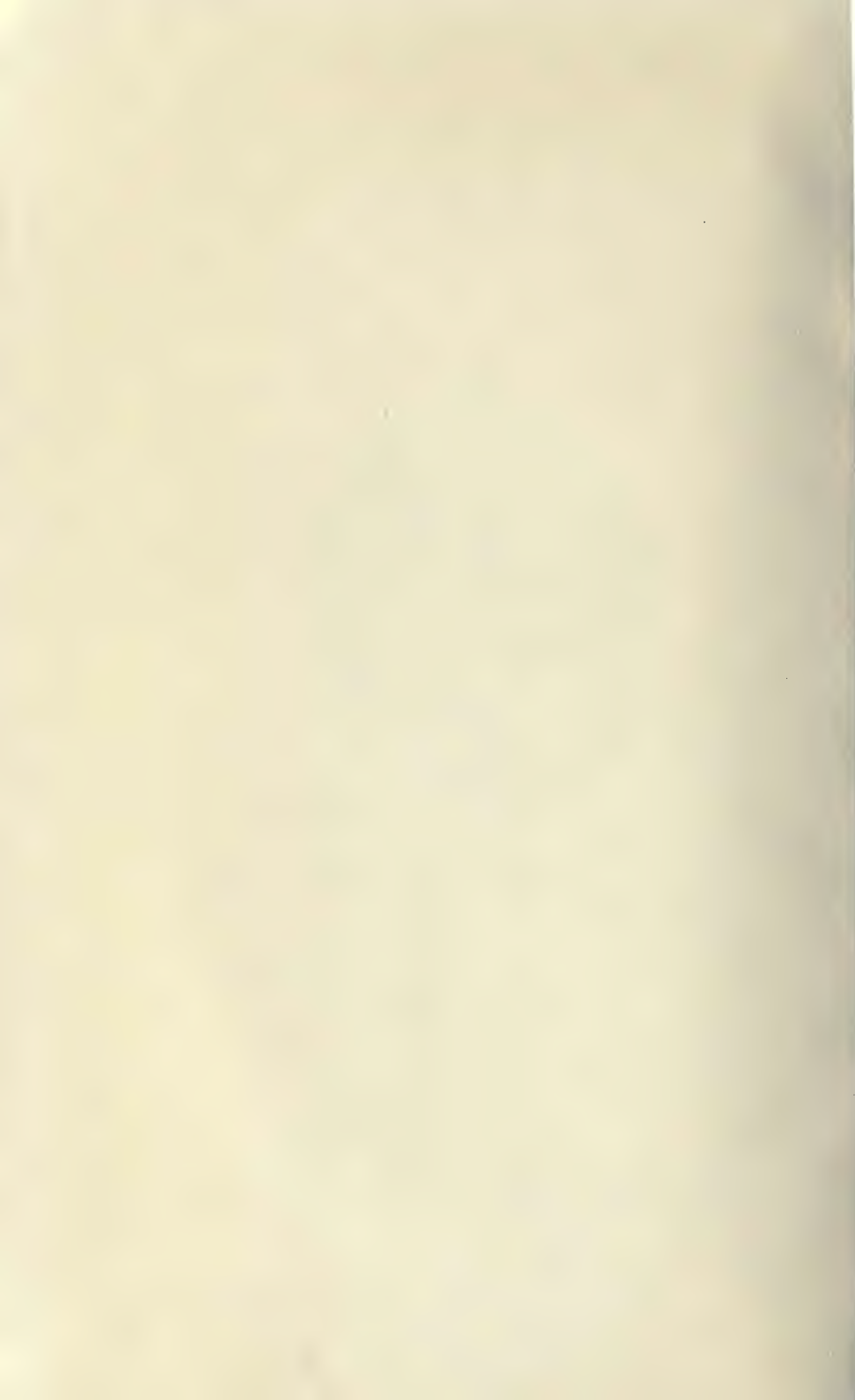
Meanwhile the Provost lost no time in showing that he had a mind of his own.

On 27th October the Town Council, in view of the heavy load of debt with which the city was burdened, resolved to appoint no regular physician for the poor, stopped the payment of money to pensioners, and resolved that the magistrates should be empowered to give no more than half a dollar at a time to any poor person. It also considered certain abuses of power perpetrated by the late magistrates, who had given judgment in actions for debt and had exacted fines without proper trial and sentence in court, and it ordered that no magistrate should determine anything between the town's people above the value of forty shillings Scots, without proof and sentence in a proper court. Next, on 4th November the Council dealt with the gift of £1706 12s. 6d. that had been made to Provost Barnes, declared it to be exorbitant and without precedent, and instructed the town's treasurer to pursue Barnes for payment of the amount of his bond.²

² The action was decided against Barnes by the Court of Session on 3rd March.—Morrison's *Dictionary of Decisions*, p. 2515.



THE SEAL OF ALEXANDER CAIRNCROSS,
ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW, 1684-7.



Provost Johnstone, further, went to Edinburgh and consulted Sir George Lockhart and the other legal advisers of the town with regard to the other gratuitous payments made by the late magistrates and Council—payments which were bluntly termed embezzlement. Last and most important of the matters regarding which this high legal advice was taken was the new bond granted to Archbishop Ross for 20,000 merks for the tack of the Barony teinds. By the advice of Sir George Lockhart and the other lawyers, and with the approval of the Town Council, an action was raised for the reduction of this tack, the plea being that 20,000 merks was an exorbitant grassum for a tack of teinds not worth 500 merks a year, and it was averred that the tack had been negotiated by Barnes “for his own ends when he was put in by the archbishop to be provost, and when he was bankrupt.”

In this action Johnstone appears to have made some statements against Archbishop Ross which gave offence to that prelate. The latter complained to King James, who took the statements as an insult to the established order, and by a letter dated Whitehall, 19th March, 1686, directed the Privy Council to take action in the matter.³ In consequence Johnstone was arrested, tried by a committee of the Privy Council with witnesses, and found guilty “of being accessory to the giving in of a defamatory bill of suspension to the Lords of Session against the Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, and of uttering calumnious and injurious expressions at several times against His Grace in relation to the said bill.” Therefore, in pursuance of a letter from the King, the Privy Council turned him out of the magistracy, ordered him on his knees at the bar to crave pardon of the Archbishop, committed him to the tolbooth, and directed that, after liberation, he should repair to Glasgow and acknowledge his crime to the Archbishop. At the same time he was mulcted in the expenses of the action, including £7 sterling to

³ Fountainhall's *Decisions*, 17th June, 1686.

the Lords Secretaries on account of the letters sent down by the King.⁴ Next day, in obedience to an order from the Privy Council, and the necessary letter from Archbishop Cairncross, the Glasgow Town Council turned Johnstone out of the provostship and reinstalled John Barnes to act as provost till the next election.⁵

The imprisonment of the unlucky provost did not last long. On 30th June, on the plea that his health was suffering in prison, and upon the intercession of Archbishop Ross himself, he was set free, and ordered to compear before the magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow before 10th July, and crave pardon in terms of the decret, under a penalty of a thousand merks in case of failure.⁶ Accordingly, on 5th July, Johnstone duly attended before the city fathers, and did "crave pardon for his cryme and injurie done to his Grace the Archbishop of St. Andrews." Obviously the Town Council had dramatic moments among its experiences.

The arbitrary action of King James in thus displacing Provost Johnstone, and installing an individual more complaisant to his purposes, was not the last high-handed exercise of the royal authority which Glasgow was to experience. On the eve of a new election of magistrates in that year, James sent a letter to the Scottish Council ordering the suspension of all elections in royal burghs till his further pleasure should be known, and directing the existing councils to continue meanwhile in the exercise of their authority. Two months later another royal letter came down to the Privy Council, directly nominating not only the provost, magistrates, and town council for the coming year, but also the dean of guild, deacon-convener, and deacons and visitors of each of the trades, "being such whom

⁴ *Reg. Priv. Coun.* 25th June, 1686.

⁵ *Burgh Records* of date.

⁶ The proceedings against Johnstone are detailed in a paper read by Mr. Andrew Roberts before Glasgow Archæological Society, 16th Jan. 1890 (*Transactions*, new series, ii. 34-43).

his Majesty judges most loyall and ready to promote his service." By this means Barnes was directly appointed to another term of office.⁷

Archbishop Cairncross was directed to attend at the tolbooth and see that these instructions were duly carried out. Such an instruction was itself an infringement of the rights and authority of the archbishopric which could hardly fail to rankle in the mind of the prelate. Arbitrary royal acts of this kind, which were rapidly alienating the general loyalty of the country, were to exhibit one of their first sinister results in the case of the Glasgow archbishop. Along with his patron, the Duke of Queensberry, Cairncross ventured to express disapproval of certain of the decrees issued by James on the royal authority alone, without consent of parliament, and was forthwith deprived of his archbishopric. At the same time the Duke was deprived of his offices as Lord Justice-General and Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.

The mandates of which Queensberry and the Archbishop disapproved were those by which James sought to show favour to members of his own communion, the Church of Rome. In order to do this with a show of fairness, James had to include in his indulgences the people hitherto denounced as conventiclers. By the most notable of these proclamations he "suspended all penal and sanguinary laws made against any for nonconformity to the religion established by law in this our ancient kingdom," and allowed all men "to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, be it in private houses, chapels, or places purposely hired or built for that use."⁸ This royal act, in which they found themselves indulged along with Roman Catholics and Quakers, greatly incensed the Covenanters, who had no wish to see toleration for any form of worship but their own. Yet it had certain solid results in Glasgow. Upon its

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 25th Sept. and 18th Nov. 1686.

⁸ Wodrow, iv. 226-227.

permission the presbyterians in Glasgow proceeded to build two great public meeting-houses, one at Merkdailly on the south side of Gallowgate, which ceased to be used in 1690, the other between the New Wynd and Mains Wynd, south of Trongate, which was rebuilt as the Wynd Church about 1760.⁹

Meanwhile the town, in addition to its own considerable debt, found itself called upon to raise £1200 sterling per annum as a tax payable to the King, with other dues and charges which brought the amount up to £1600 sterling, a very large sum, in the value of money at that time, to be raised by a small community. The stent-masters were therefore sent round to collect a tax, and the order was given to sell by auction the houses and warehouses belonging to the city at "Newport, Glasgow," as well as the stores and houses which had been bought by the town from the defunct Fishing Society.¹⁰ To help the town's finances the King granted a right to the magistrates to levy excise duties upon ale and wine—four pennies Scots upon every pint of ale, two merks upon every boll of malt, twenty shillings on every barrel of mum beer, fifty pounds on every tun of French,

⁹ McUre's *Hist.* ed. 1830, pp. 60, 61. *Burgh Records*, 28th Sept. 1687, note. At the Reformation, when Glasgow had a population of little over 4000, the city had one church, the Cathedral, with one minister. In 1687 a second minister was appointed as a colleague. Next the old church of St. Mary and St. Anne, now the Tron Church, was restored, and a third minister was appointed in 1592. Three years later a fourth minister was appointed and in 1599 took charge of the landward part of the parish, then separated from the city part, and named the Barony Parish. Its congregation worshipped in the Lower Church of the Cathedral. In 1622, further accommodation being required, the old church of the Blackfriars monastery in High Street was repaired, to become known as the Blackfriars or College Church. In 1648 another congregation was installed in the Cathedral, and became known as the "Outer High," as it worshipped in the nave. This, after removal in 1836, became St. Paul's, as the Wynd Church, founded in 1687, became St. George's. Of the city's later churches, St. David's (the Ramshorn) dates from 1720, St. Andrews from 1740, St. Enoch's from 1780, St. John's from 1817, and St. James's, purchased from the Methodists in 1820.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 20th Jan. 1687. The town had had great trouble in taking over the assets of the old Fishing Company—the ill-judged State enterprise initiated by Charles I. (see *supra*, page 206). See *Burgh Records*, 1683, pp. 327, 331, 343, 344, 346.

Spanish, or Rhenish wine, and fifty pounds on every butt of brandy, aquavitæ, or strong waters, sold or consumed within the city. Rapture at the royal grant seems to have gone to the heads of the city fathers, as the liquor itself might have done, and they wrote a letter of thanks to the King in probably the most abject terms ever employed by a Scottish Town Council. This precious epistle began: "May it please your most sacreed Majestie,—In the deepest sense of gratitude, wee most humblie prostrat ourselves at your royall feet, acknowledgeing your Majesties clemencie and bountie towards this your city of Glasgow in rescuing it from sinking under inevitable ruine." Further on it proceeds, "For our pairt, who by your Majesties nomination represent your authoritie here, wee shall, under the prudent conduct and unspotted loyall example of the most reverend archbishop your Majestie hath bein graciously pleased now to nominat for ws, witness to the world our fervent zeal against all your adversaries," etc.¹ By such a letter Provost Barnes no doubt felt that he had fairly earned the King's favour, which again continued him in the post of chief magistrate when the time for election once more came round in 1687.

Troubles were now, however, thickening round the head of James himself. The birth of a royal prince on 16th June, 1688, was celebrated at Glasgow with every demonstration of loyalty. Seven barrels of gunpowder and a large supply of French wine were expended in rejoicings for the arrival of that "Prince of Scotland and Waillis."² The prince's birth, nevertheless, rather increased than diminished the public discontent, for it promised a perpetuation of the Catholic menace with which the country

¹ *Burgh Records*, 28th Feb. 1687. The archbishop mentioned was Cairncross' successor, John Paterson, previously Bishop of Edinburgh, who owed his promotion to the ardour with which he served the wishes of the Court and his endeavours to move Parliament to meet the King's desires for removal of the laws against Catholics.—*Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, 197.

² *Ibid.* 3rd Aug. 1688.

was threatened by the religion and policy of King James, and which, it had been hoped, would come to an end if the King's elder daughter Mary, wife of the Protestant Prince of Orange, succeeded to the throne.

The rapidly growing seriousness of the situation is reflected in events at Glasgow. Early in October, on the rumour of serious trouble impending, the city offered to raise ten companies of a hundred and twenty men each for the service of the King, and the offer was promptly accepted on behalf of the Privy Council by the chancellor, the Earl of Perth. Three days later a complete list of officers for the companies, including the new provost, Walter Gibson, was drawn up, and on 13th November strict orders were issued and penalties prescribed regarding any who should neglect their duty when called upon to mount guard in the city or who should fail to appear "sufficientlie armed with ane sufficient fyrelock and ane sword."³

But already, on 5th November, William of Orange had landed at Torbay. In the days that followed, King James had seen his armies fall away from him, his friends go over to the invader, even his daughter Anne desert him; and on the night of 22nd December he had himself finally fled to France. The Revolution which James had brought about by his own obstinacy and folly, had effectively taken place.

³ *Burgh Records*, 13th and 16th Oct. and 13th Nov. 1688.

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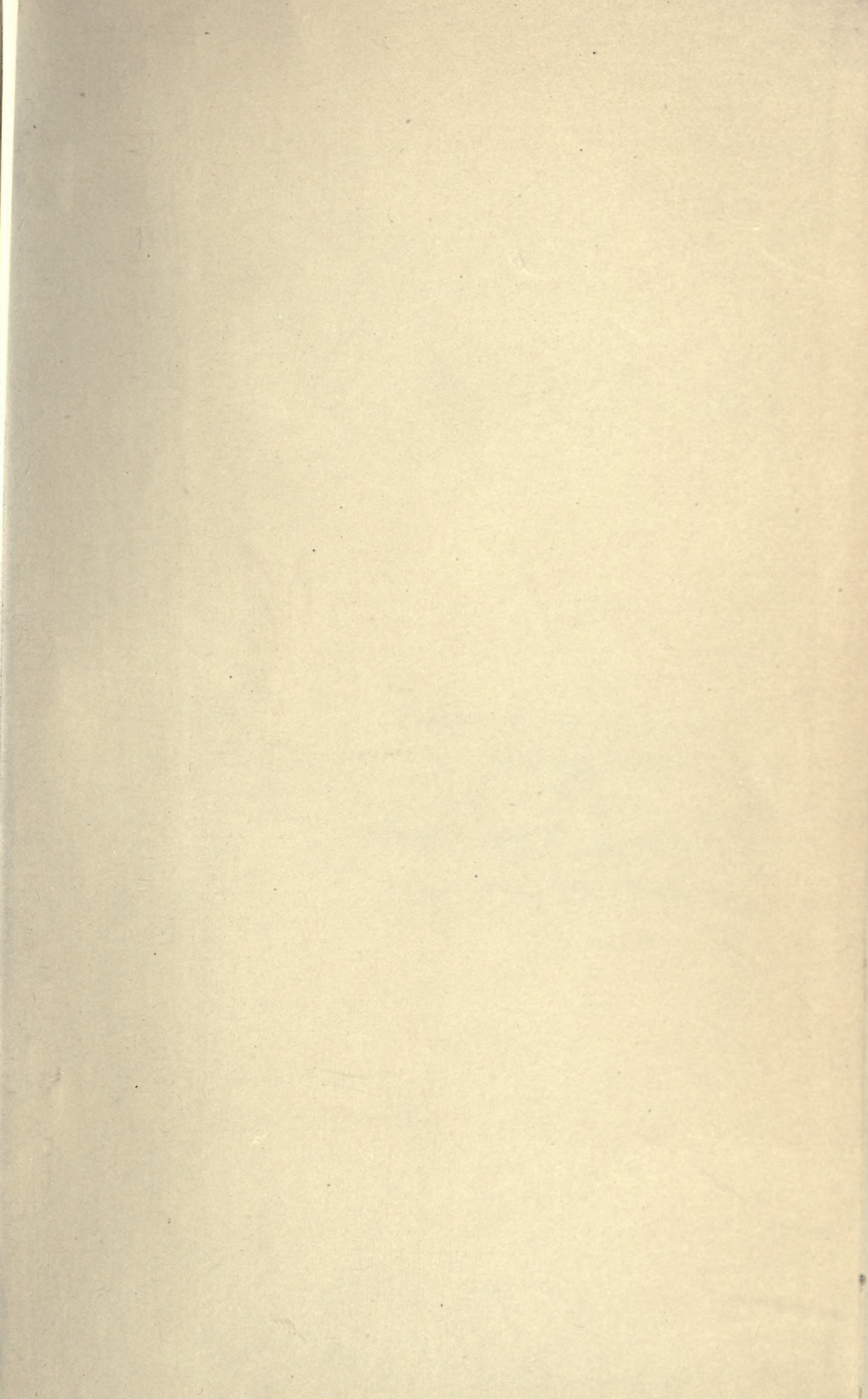
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